

STAFF  
PERSONNEL  
*in the*  
PUBLIC SCHOOLS

PRENTICE-HALL EDUCATION SERIES

**Dan Cooper, *Editor***

# STAFF PERSONNEL

*in the*

## PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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Teachers College  
Columbia University

New York

PRENTICE-HALL, INC.

1954

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# INTRODUCTION

It is universally conceded that the quality of a teaching staff and the efficiency with which it performs its daily tasks determine in large measure how well prepared our young people are to meet their future responsibilities at the end of their public school careers. No one can measure with certainty the relative amounts of learning that take place in the home, in the school, or in community agencies outside of the school. Since, however, the school does have a specific mandate from the state to prepare youth for worthy citizenship, there rests upon teachers the major responsibility for education. The success of the public school enterprise is also conditioned by the character and quality of other employees, whose work brings them into close contact with public school youth and the educational program. In addition to approximately one million classroom teachers, principals and supervisors, there are several thousand custodians, school nurses, physicians, dentists, transportation workers, secretaries, clerical assistants, and other public school employees whose influence on the lives of children cannot wisely be discounted.<sup>1</sup>

School administrators and boards of education have a great opportunity and responsibility to select persons with superior qualifications to fill vacancies and to adopt personnel policies that are conducive to high productive effort.

The lay public also has a big stake in the success of the public school venture, and it must, if good schools are to be maintained, provide the support and the encouragement that are necessary for maintaining high personnel standards. Unless gifted individuals can be encouraged to enter the teaching profession, it is obvious that administrators and boards of education cannot employ them. More-

<sup>1</sup> For current estimates of the number of instructional staff members employed in public elementary and secondary schools, see *NEA Handbook*, published annually by National Education Association. Data for past years on public school employees can be found in *Statistics of State School Systems*, published biennially by the United States Office of Education.

over, unless teachers can be paid adequate salaries and assigned reasonable work loads, their morale will be low and their efficiency considerably short of optimum.

In addition to the responsibility that rests on the local school board and the lay public, the state as a sovereign entity has a peculiar interest in the welfare and efficiency of public school employees. Education is legally a state function, and the powers that local school districts possess are derived from the state legislature and the state constitution. More and more, the state is increasing its share of the financial support for public schools. The state controls teacher certification; it often stipulates the minimum salaries to be paid teachers; it guarantees certain protection to employees against unjust dismissal; and it commonly provides for the retirement of its employees. To the degree that such regulations are consistent with modern standards of personnel administration, they enhance morale. Unfortunately, in many states legislation has fallen far short of current needs, and the effects of existing provisions on employee efficiency have not been altogether salutary.

It is essential, then, that school administrators, local boards of education, school patrons, and the state legislature all join forces in establishing and administering policies that will encourage school employees to give their best efforts to their respective assignments. Anything less than this will not suffice, since the quality of our future citizenry rests on the shoulders of public school workers.

## PHILOSOPHY OF PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION A KEY CONSIDERATION

Personnel administration in any given community will be judged to be good or bad depending upon the philosophy or point of view of the critic. Doctors of the old school frown upon wide staff participation in policy formulation; hence, there still remains a high degree of authoritarianism in the management of many public school systems. This is revealed in the *status roles* of superintendent, principal, and teacher. Moreover, it manifests itself in supervisory practices and in the handling of personnel problems generally. Happily, in the authors' judgment, there is a marked trend away from this early conception of school administration, in the direction of democracy. The day seems not far distant when public

school systems generally will be so organized and administered that they will exemplify the best practices in democratic living to be found anywhere in our society.

From time to time the school administrator should remind himself of precisely what comprises democracy. Inherent in the concept are certain values and certain implications for the conduct of human affairs. There is first of all a recognition that an individual human being is of surpassing worth, that he should be treated as an end in himself, not as a means to an end. Related to this concept of worth is the belief that *every normal individual has a unique contribution to make to our society*, and that, therefore, he deserves respect. While few, if any, would hold that the social contributions of individuals are equal in value, most Americans do believe that equal opportunity should be provided all citizens. This high regard for the individual should become a basic principle underlying all policies and practices in personnel management.

A second ingredient of democracy relevant to school administration is the faith attached to group judgment and decision. A major premise on which our government rests is that the people are capable of handling their own affairs and that the conclusions reached by the masses are superior, in the long run, to those arrived at through the deliberations of a brain trust. In short, democracy places infinite confidence in the wisdom of the people. This idea is not inconsistent with the realization that experts have important contributions to make. A school system which is managed in a way that will tap the intelligence of all its employees, as well as that of the lay public, is following a principle entirely consistent with those proclaimed by the founding fathers.

A third characteristic of an enlightened philosophy of personnel management relates to the role of the school administrator. Although clothed with considerable authority, the school administrator, in carrying out his responsibilities, should not use his powers to compel employees to execute his wishes or those of the school board. Instead, he should work with staff and laymen and let mandates grow out of group decisions in which he shares. To some, this may seem like abdication, but in a democracy public servants are elected or appointed to carry out the wishes of those whom they represent. It must also be remembered that authority comes from the whole public and not from employees alone. The task of in-

terpreting the will of the people is a difficult one and requires great skill and insight. It is basic, nevertheless, to the American system.

A philosophy of personnel management, therefore, should be deeply rooted in our democratic traditions.

## BASIC ESSENTIALS IN PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

When one examines the personnel practices employed in administering school systems, one finds at least seven considerations which relate to quality. First of all, where an ideal program obtains, *only competent individuals are appointed to positions in the public schools.*

This principle, which is discussed later in some detail, not only has implications for local school boards and administrators but also has direct significance for the state legislature, the state board of education, and the lay public generally.

Local districts cannot restrict their appointments to highly qualified applicants if such persons are not available. If other professions and vocations succeed in skimming off the cream of high school seniors and college graduates, then the teaching profession, at best, will consist of men and women of mediocre ability. To some degree this is just what has happened in recent decades. Supply and demand are dependent upon many factors, including certification standards, admission requirements to professional schools, state-aid provisions, and the character of the leadership exercised by the state department of education. The prevailing attitude of the public toward its schools is a rough measure of the prestige level of teaching and constitutes an important factor in determining supply and demand.

The problem of selection, therefore, is considerably larger in scope than is the question of the local policies and procedures employed in appointing teachers. Look as hard as they will, local officials still may be compelled to consider mediocre candidates if the supply of talented and qualified individuals is not sufficient to meet the current demand. The seriousness of this problem and the steps that need to be taken to resolve it are discussed in Chapters 1 and 3.

There is, of course, an important relationship between local efforts in selecting personnel and the quality of education found

in school systems. Superintendents of schools who, in filling vacancies, pursue a policy of continually searching for gifted individuals will find the results most rewarding when measured in terms of pupil achievement.

It is obvious that the profession of teaching, like a stream of water, can rise no higher than its source. Therefore, the first consideration in improving the quality of our school personnel relates to recruitment and selection. Unless the schools can attract superior individuals as teachers, principals, and supervisors, the output, in view of the complicated nature of the teaching task, will be considerably less than the situation demands.

The same general principle of seeking out and appointing the best talent available applies also to candidates for clerical, custodial, and other positions not directly related to instruction. The filling of a vacancy in a school system, whatever it is, should not be viewed as an unimportant responsibility. Employee inefficiency inevitably has bad effects, indirectly if not directly, on the quality of education provided children. Hence, an aggressive policy of recruitment and selection is essential for ensuring well qualified employees, no matter what their assignments may be in the public schools.

A second measure of the soundness of a personnel program in a public school system is *the degree to which clearly formulated personnel policies exist and are publicized.*

Until recently, it was not uncommon for school boards to operate on a somewhat opportunistic basis. Salaries, for example, were the result of individual bargaining; sick leave was granted without close adherence to principles; teacher selection followed no regular pattern and was not based on carefully established standards; in short, personnel policies were often inconsistent and illogical. This situation led to confusion, low employee morale, and inefficiency. School boards should survey their personnel practices and adopt a program that specifically covers policies relating to every phase of personnel management. Moreover, there are decided advantages to incorporating these personnel policies in a handbook and making it available to present and prospective employees, board members, and the lay public, so far as the latter is interested. Experience shows that policies are more likely to be revised and modernized when they are available in printed or min-

cographed form than when they are restricted to the minutes or by-laws of the board of education. Several school systems have published and distributed copies of their personnel policies and regulations in a form which makes it easy for interested persons to learn what the conditions of employment really are and to gain some appreciation of the underlying personnel philosophy of the administration.<sup>2</sup>

Closely related to the principle that personnel policies should be adopted and publicized is the important requirement *that they be formulated cooperatively and democratically.*

The term, "democratic school administration," has become almost a cliché, and to some school administrators it is used, as are many political slogans, to win personal favor and support. But, for a long time, thoughtful educators have seen and appreciated the dividends resulting from wide participation on the part of the rank and file employee in setting goals and establishing policies. A few of the areas where school systems have gained their most extensive experience with this procedure are in the revision of local curriculum programs and in the determination of salary policies. Teachers, school secretaries, and custodians have often shared in salary-study projects, and their judgments have weighed heavily in the decisions made by boards of education.

The application of this principle of developing policies cooperatively has many advantages. First, it is in harmony with the democratic philosophy inherent in our way of life in the United States. The right of an individual to participate in decisions regarding his own life and destiny is recognized when teachers and other employees are consulted in policy formulation. A second advantage relates to the quality of the policies resulting from the use of this procedure. As was emphasized earlier, the wisdom of a group is usually better than the judgment of a few administrators or board members. This is not intended to suggest that a vote of a faculty

<sup>2</sup> Springfield, Mass., and Allentown, Pa., were among the first city school systems to publish handbooks relating to personnel. Such matters as the following are covered: principles and processes of teacher selection; special prerequisites to teaching service, appointment, and tenure; policies relating to assignment, transfer, and promotion, regulations governing pupil-teacher ratio and teacher load; leave-of-absence provisions; salary policies; and retirement regulations. See also Lakewood, Ohio, Board of Education, *Handbook of Professional Personnel Policies*, October 11, 1951.

on an issue is always better than the judgment of the wisest member of the faculty or of the administrative staff in the central office. When the principle is intelligently applied, however, opportunity will be given for the expression of many points of view and for the presentation of all pertinent information in making decisions. One of the serious limitations of autocratic administration is that the best brains in the school system are not tapped in resolving problems or formulating policies.

Still another observable advantage in such cooperative efforts is the enhancement of employee morale. This is a demonstrated fact and needs no elaboration. Employees like to be consulted; they want to feel they are a part of an organization and have a voice in its management. Such participation also promotes in-service growth. Moreover, policies formulated cooperatively are more likely to be effective, since they will be understood by and, in most instances, will have the support of the employees.

A principle that is often overlooked in trying to develop a highly efficient school system is that *good human relations depend upon clarity of function*. When employees understand their respective roles and see the relationship of their work to the work of others, they are likely to be more efficient. Perhaps the point where the greatest need exists for a clear statement of relationships is in the central office. The duties of supervisors, directors, consultants, coordinators, and instructional employees other than classroom teachers are frequently not well defined. Supervisors often tread on the toes of principals because of overlapping duties, and, when the functions of these officers have not been clearly delineated, teachers are sometimes caught between the upper and nether millstones.

Lee Thurston, in a thought-provoking bulletin entitled "Personnel Policy Development," describes the roles of the teacher, the principal, the consultant, the general administrator, the board member, and the parent. His comments on the first four of the positions just mentioned are especially important in a discussion of personnel management.

The teacher should be recognized as the basic operative of the school system. While others deal with instruction, the teacher is primarily concerned with that function. Both his individualistic and his cooperative roles should be stressed.

The principal should be recognized as an instructional leader, staff officer, and as the dean of his faculty. He also has line functions in that he is an administrative officer to whom all teachers are directly responsible.

The consultant, or erstwhile "supervisor," should be recognized as a helper and counselor of teachers on special problems and in no case should he be charged with line or authoritative functions such as evaluating the competency of teachers or the direction of school programs. He renders service "on call" and nothing is ever done to break the rapport between him and the teacher.

The general administrator should concern himself with evaluation, coordination, formulation, and planning on a system-wide level. While avoiding interference in group processes, he should maintain close personal relationships with all staff members and should freely participate in the group efforts at school improvement.<sup>2</sup>

Statements like the foregoing are invaluable as a means of clarifying the roles of employees and should be extended to reach all the personnel in the school system.

Another principle, which bears directly on employee efficiency, relates to in-service growth. *A board of education should make provision for a continuous program of in-service education for all employees.*

The tendency for workers in all walks of life to "get into ruts" is universally acknowledged. It is natural for a person to repeat whatever pattern of behavior he feels meets the requirements of the situation at hand. Often this is far from ideal or far below the performance which the individual is capable of giving. To keep improving and growing it is necessary to be prodded, to be challenged, and to be encouraged to experiment. The ramifications of a program of in-service growth are many, and the best means of ensuring continuous improvement on the part of the employees have not been fully explored. There is, however, considerable information bearing on this topic, and a rather thorough analysis of in-service education practices appears in Chapter 9.

Employee efficiency is related to many factors not directly concerned with continuous growth considerations. Teachers can slip backward in their efforts as well as move forward; they can lose their zest for their work and become discouraged or cynical, with resulting harm to children. Keeping employees optimistic, alive,

<sup>2</sup> Lee M. Thurston, *Personnel Policy Development*, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lansing, Mich., Bulletin No. 411, 1948, p. 3.

*and interested is a function of personnel management.* Industry, and to a lesser degree, municipal, state, and federal governmental agencies and public school systems, have devoted considerable money and time to this major problem of how to maintain high morale among employees and, as a result, there now exists some evidence and a considerable body of opinion that has significance for administering school systems. The areas that have received most attention and that are discussed later in this volume are:

Induction or orientation	Employee evaluation procedures
Supervisory practices	Collective bargaining
Salaries and wages	Machinery for handling grievances
Sick leave and vacation provisions	Retirement provisions
Work loads	Employee associations
Tenure	

A further generalization, which is almost axiomatic, is that *the effectiveness of a personnel program depends upon wise administrative and supervisory leadership.*

There is a great deal being said these days about developing leadership among teachers and other employees, most of which is logical and implies a somewhat broader concept of school administration than that held formerly by school superintendents and educators generally. Leadership among the rank and file, however, is no substitute for dynamic leadership on the part of principals, supervisors, and superintendents of schools. Where such leadership is lacking, there is little likelihood of a school system attaining great heights or of boys and girls getting an excellent preparation for life's responsibilities. It takes leadership at the top to create or release leadership in the ranks. The vision, the intelligence, and the spirit of those in administrative and supervisory posts determine, in no small measure, what happens in classrooms and condition the quality of the educational program. This has an important bearing on the selection and appointment of school executives and the opportunities available for their in-service education.

In summary, the efficiency of a school system depends upon human resources, which, in turn, depend upon personnel policies and practices. A sound personnel program will include the selection and appointment of gifted individuals, the establishment of a com-

prehensive program of personnel policies, the provision for formulating and revising policies cooperatively, a clear definition of functions, a continuous program of in-service education for all employees, attention to morale building through the establishment of favorable working conditions, and the provision of wise leadership.

# 1 RECRUITMENT

## DEMAND

Few laymen, or, for that matter, educators, have any real appreciation of the difficulties involved in discovering and attracting into the teaching profession the number of persons of high quality that are now needed or that soon will be needed to fill the vacancies resulting from turnover or from expansion due to increase in population. Various estimates have been made as to the number of new teachers needed annually to take care of minimum requirements during the present decade. One of the lowest predictions is 100,000. One study which attempted to take account of all the pertinent data available concluded that during this decade more than a million new elementary teachers and approximately 300,000 new secondary school teachers will be needed to meet the demand.<sup>1</sup>

Demand cannot be calculated without making assumptions regarding population changes, compulsory attendance laws, certification standards, rate of teacher turnover, and size of classes. If the public continues to be apathetic regarding teacher preparation and is satisfied with present standards, and if parents are willing to permit their children to attend elementary schools where classes of thirty-five or more pupils are the rule rather than the exception, then the demand for elementary school teachers will probably not reach the one-million mark predicted earlier for the decade 1951-1960. Similarly, if teachers now holding substandard or emergency certificates are retained, the number of new teachers required will be somewhat smaller than if state certification requirements are fully met. The attrition rates employed in most of the supply and demand estimates are those taken from recent statistics

<sup>1</sup> Laurin C. McArthur, *Local Teachers' Associations and Selective Teacher Recruitment*, Unpublished doctoral project report (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950), pp. 14-15, 23.

### Problem In Multiplication



Richard O. Yardley, copyright The S. M. Baltimore, Sept. 9, 1912.

on turnover, and unless some drastic economic or social change occurs to alter them, they can logically be used in computing future turnover. Should some national crisis occur, turnover would in all probability increase substantially and demand would be larger than is now anticipated. Future enrollment statistics are commonly based on formulas devised by population experts and are as reliable as present forecasting techniques permit.<sup>2</sup> Since the United

<sup>3</sup> See Bureau of Census Forecasts of the Population of the United States, 1945-1975 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947).

States is growing rapidly and there is still plenty of room for expansion, it seems unlikely that the enrollment rate will decline or that a saturation point will be reached in the near future.

The effect of recent birth rates on demand is reflected in the requirements of new elementary school teachers (grades 1-8), as estimated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor.<sup>3</sup> As Chart I shows, during the last half of the decade 1951-1960, the estimated demand for high school teachers increases markedly and the need for elementary school teachers declines.

What will happen to demand as the twentieth century approaches its end is more speculative than are population estimates for the current decade. The Bureau of Labor Statistics ventures this prediction: that teacher employment will not fall below the 1945 level for at least the following forty years and that there are many reasons to believe that teacher employment in 1955 may exceed the earlier level.<sup>4</sup>

One dramatic method of assessing the demand situation is to state it in terms of the proportion of high school seniors required for the teaching profession. One student of the problem has estimated that 11 out of every 100 pupils graduating from high school during the decade 1947-1956 will be needed to fill the teaching vacancies occurring during the present decade. Of each 100 graduates, 8½ will be required to fill the elementary school jobs and 2½ will be needed to fill high school vacancies. Approximately 15 per cent of the girls in each senior class and 7 per cent of the boys must be persuaded to enter teaching if present ratios of men and women teachers are to be maintained.<sup>5</sup>

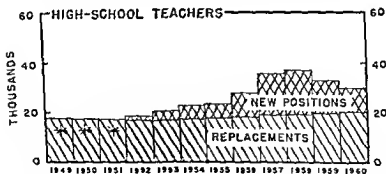
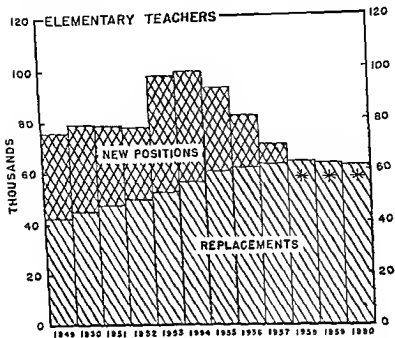
Since it is obvious that graduation from high school is in itself no proof that the person graduating possesses the ability and aptitude essential for success as a teacher, the statistics just cited do not fully indicate the seriousness of the problem. Other professions such as law, medicine, theology, and engineering are securing their membership, for the most part, from the upper 25 per

\* U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment Outlook for Elementary and Secondary School Teachers," Bulletin No. 972 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> McArthur, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26.

# RECRUITMENT ESTIMATED ANNUAL DEMAND FOR TEACHERS



National Education Association, "Probable Demand for Teachers in the United States for the Decade 1949-59 through 1958-59, for the Period 1948-60 Inclusive."

\* No deduction has been made for positions which may be left unfilled because of decreasing enrollments.

Chart 1

cent of high school graduating classes as far as scholastic rank and intelligence are concerned. Teaching, if it is to emerge and survive as a profession, requires equally competent members as those recruited for the well-established professions listed above. Shaw's maxim, "He who can does. He who cannot teaches," is not without some support, since all too frequently society has scraped the bottom of the high school barrel in order to fill the vacancies and has accepted into the teaching fraternity those who were left behind by other professions because they showed little promise of success.

Each year teaching will require (if the estimates discussed earlier hold true) about 45 per cent of those in the upper quartile of the senior class in high school during the decade 1947-1956. In short, to meet the real quality needs of the profession, teaching should be getting nearly half of the cream of the high school graduates, the greater part of which now is drawn off by other vocations.

Although total estimates of teacher demand for the United States as a whole can be made with some reasonable degree of reliability, the problem of forecasting individual state needs for any extended period of time is more difficult to resolve. There are more variables to consider and less likelihood that the effects of these variables will offset one another or that errors of assumption will be ironed out. To illustrate, California has experienced a tremendous increase in pupil enrollment in recent years, due not only to high birth rates, which are a common phenomenon in all commonwealths, but also to an unprecedented migration to California during and since World War II. Future migrations cannot easily be estimated. It has also been demonstrated that sparsity of population is a factor related to teacher turnover, and future district reorganization on any extended basis would certainly condition demand significantly in several states. In Rhode Island there appears to be a trend in the direction of extending parochial schools, which, if continued, will reduce the demand for public school teachers in that state. Apparently the demand in states having large Negro populations differs somewhat from the demand in states where the population is predominantly white. As factors of this character increase in number, the difficulties of prediction mount. On a national scale, however, there is less need for the refinements

in the prediction techniques so essential for reliable estimates in local or state studies.

### SUPPLY

However puzzling the problem of demand may appear to be, it is as a midget compared to a giant when measured against the problem of supply. Not only is it difficult to corral the statistics necessary to reach thoroughly valid conclusions about the present numerical supply of teachers, but it is almost impossible to determine what the quality of the supply really is.

Theoretically, the supply of potential teachers is limited only by the number of educated people in the country at large. Actually the supply at any given time is dependent upon the number of persons who can meet state certification standards. Since certification requirements consist of varying amounts of formal academic and pedagogical preparation, it is exceedingly difficult to make an accurate estimate of supply.\* Thousands of graduates of teachers colleges and liberal arts institutions are technically qualified to serve as public school teachers, yet it is doubtful if many of them are interested in teaching as a profession. It is not uncommon for women students to take enough college courses in pedagogy to qualify for a teaching certificate, just in case they can't get happily located in some preferred occupation.

The factor of marriage also complicates the problem of estimating supply. Women constitute approximately 80 per cent of the public school teachers, and a large proportion of them hope to marry. Most of the latter have no intention of remaining in the profession permanently. This situation accounts for a relatively large amount of turnover in teaching. When economic conditions are bad, married women remain on the job, or if they have resigned they seek opportunity to return.

There is also the important fact to consider that amount of preparation alone is a very poor measure of the quality of a teacher and, therefore, is an inadequate standard to use in assessing supply. Many teachers colleges were planned and built during horse and

\* In 1953, according to the Teacher Supply and Demand Report of the NEA, colleges and universities were expected to graduate approximately 36,000 qualified elementary school teaching candidates and about 55,000 high school candidates.

buggy days and are ill equipped to prepare young people for teaching today. Moreover, few liberal arts colleges have the faculty or program essential for the preparation of teachers. The result is that any sound criterion of quality, if applied, would result in a marked reduction in the numerical figures bearing on supply. Some of the data appearing on the quality of those entering the profession leave doubts in the minds of neutral observers as to how well the recruitment program is progressing. Traxler<sup>7</sup> provided some objective evidence on this for the years 1935 to 1944, based on data made available through the American Council on Education Psychological Examinations. He found that the average I.Q. of freshmen in teachers colleges was consistently lower throughout the decade studied than the average I.Q. of freshmen in four-year colleges. Although Traxler finds some comfort in the fact that the average I.Q. of freshmen in teachers colleges (the average for the ten-year period was 109) is higher than that estimated for 75 per cent of the population of the United States, it seems to the authors that this condition does not augur well for the future status of the profession. Surely the intelligence of the typical college freshman is too low a standard to set for those planning to make a career out of teaching, where intellectual acuity is of utmost importance.

This study of Traxler's is supported further by facts revealed through the Selective Service System's College Qualification Test. Whereas only 27 per cent of the freshmen majoring in education were eligible for deferment as a result of their performance on this test, 68 per cent of the majors in engineering and 53 per cent of all college freshmen were eligible. While this leaves out of consideration the women in the profession, the results indicate a relatively low position in the professional hierarchy for men teachers.

The facts just reported add significance to the problem, discussed earlier, of commandeering for teaching 45 per cent of the high school seniors who rate in the upper quartile of their class in intelligence, scholastic standing, and personality. Unless some means can be found of reversing past and current trends, there will be little hope of competing successfully with other professions for these talented high school seniors.

<sup>7</sup> Arthur E. Traxler, "Are Students in Teachers Colleges Greatly Inferior in Ability?" *School and Society*, Vol. 63, Feb. 16, 1946, pp. 105-107.

There are, of course, problems in relation to supply growing out of the 48 certification arrangements. Restrictive provisions and variations in standards tend to create barriers to the free mobility of teachers. Even though some states may be long and other states short on teachers of certain subjects, very little movement across state lines may occur, and the imbalance may persist. However, reciprocity agreements are rapidly being worked out, and local shortages, if they continue to exist, will be attributable to causes other than restrictive certification regulations.

When viewed from a purely technical angle, the states, through their control over certification, do govern supply. They can issue emergency certificates when demand is great and supply low, and they can raise the requirements when demand is low and supply large.

#### MAJOR INFLUENCES IN DETERMINING SUPPLY

The supply of teachers is affected by general economic conditions. During a depression, when unemployment generally is high, many persons who elected originally to go into business or to enter one of the other professions turn to teaching because of the security it promises. Moreover, former teachers who married or left teaching during the period of an expanding economy often are interested in returning when times are hard. Such cyclical changes have only temporary effects on the supply problem.

Local school board policies and community attitudes toward teachers unquestionably have a bearing on the number and quality of persons available for teaching. Wealthy communities, if they choose to do so, can attract highly qualified candidates through high salaries and favorable working conditions. This situation will not affect the general supply of teachers; in fact, it will create quality shortages in the poorer districts. But if local school districts generally would raise their salary levels and improve working conditions, then teaching would become more attractive to youth and the supply of able recruits would be increased. Predictions, therefore, about the future supply of teachers are rather meaningless because of the wide variety of factors bearing on supply. It is probable that whatever the requirements are with regard to *numbers* of teachers, the numerical supply will not vary significantly from

crisis and the facts relating to it and, what is equally important, to persuade them to accept the major share of the responsibility for doing something about it.

#### NEGATIVE ATTITUDE OF TEACHERS

One important block in the way of interesting young people in teaching is the attitude of many teachers toward their work and their profession. Some of them are bitter because of low salaries and because they feel they have not been accorded the social status which they deserve. This point of view is reflected in their conversation and in their general behavior. Children are quick to sense strong negative reactions of adults and particularly teachers, with whom they are so closely associated. It is true that this negative attitude is not typical of the majority of classroom teachers, most of whom are happy and enthusiastic individuals who find in their work and their relationships the satisfactions which they hoped for when they entered the profession. Unfortunately, the unhappy minority are so vociferous that they appear to many high school boys and girls to be representative of teachers as a class. Moreover, these constant "gripers" condition young people against choosing teaching as a career.

In one respect professions other than teaching have an advantage in the competition for talent. Young people seldom see the seamy side of the lawyer's daily work or that of the physician, whereas they are continually reminded of the problems confronting the classroom teacher. The latter lives in a glass bowl as far as his pupils are concerned. Whatever drudgery is inherent in the teacher's job will be apparent to the bright pupils; whatever idiosyncrasies the teacher has will be revealed. By the same token, however, the teacher has an opportunity to exhibit to pupils the great satisfaction and enjoyment that the job holds for its more gifted members and thereby to condition favorably the reaction of pupils toward the profession of teaching.

The task of arousing teachers to their responsibilities in attracting able young men and women to the profession is clearly the beginning point. For some reason teachers as a group have not been alert to the cause and effect relationship between talent on

the one hand and social and economic status on the other. Society, in a rough sort of fashion, rewards workers according to ability, and teaching is no exception. Unless teaching can obtain its share of the gifted, it will continue to fall rather low on the professional scale in the minds of the public and in the minds of the ablest high school seniors. The efforts of our best educational evangelists will need to be enlisted if teachers are to be made fully aware of the importance of recruitment.

#### INADEQUATE SALARIES

A second obstacle in the way of making teaching a profession is the apparent unwillingness of taxpayers to pay adequate salaries to public school teachers. Men and women in other professions are usually more generously rewarded. This fact weighs heavily in the minds of young people when choosing a vocation, and any attempt to raise the standards of the profession that does not deal realistically with the salary question seems destined to fail. Even though the missionary spirit may not be completely dead in the modern world, one can scarcely expect able high school students not to be influenced by material considerations and the promise of a high standard of living. Certainly it is unreasonable to assume that gifted young people will deliberately choose a vocation that assures an annual income only slightly above the subsistence level. The most capable among the high school students will give teaching genuine consideration and will have the blessing of their parents in doing so only when salary levels are high enough to ensure experienced teachers a professional mode of life. Hence there is a need for a continuous drive to lift teachers' salaries to a point where the successful members of the profession are adequately rewarded.

#### FAILURE TO UTILIZE RESEARCH FINDINGS

What might logically be deemed to be a third recruitment obstacle is the failure of school officials, including guidance counselors and administrators, to utilize the findings of research in attacking the problem of recruitment. In attempting to interest able high school students in teaching as a vocation, too little attention has

been given to certain facts, related to the reasons underlying vocational choice, which point tentatively to the areas of greatest promise in recruitment.

To illustrate, studies of attitudes toward teaching indicate that teachers now employed elected to enter the profession for one or more of the following reasons:

1. A belief that education is important.
2. A desire to render public service and a conviction that teaching furnishes such an opportunity.
3. A belief that the profession and its members are respected and accepted.
4. A conviction that teaching children is interesting and enjoyable.
5. A belief that working conditions are favorable.
6. A realization that teaching offers rich opportunities for the development of personal talents.<sup>9</sup>

With the exception of items 3 and 5 above, there would seem to be little reason for discouragement in resolving the recruitment problem. Certainly the profession itself should be able to demonstrate to young people the satisfactions inherent in teaching as a vocation. Unfortunately, relatively little emphasis has been placed on this by teachers, administrators, or school board members.

Research has provided a few other clues to what factors predispose students toward teaching as a vocation. It appears, for example, that experience as a camp counselor, scout leader, or Sunday School teacher is closely related to the tendency to choose teaching as a vocation.<sup>10</sup> This suggests that able young people might well be given experiences of a teaching nature by way of exploration, since successful teaching experience on the part of young people is commonly enjoyed and accompanied by satisfaction.

Another factor which studies have shown to be related to the vocational choices of students is the occupation of their parents. Those who have relatives in teaching are more likely to choose this vocation than those who do not. Similarly, the factor of having friends in the occupation ranks high in affecting a student's choice of vocation. Teachers stand third among the influences which have led students to choose teaching as a profession. Knowledge of the

<sup>9</sup> Adapted from McArthur, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

foregoing facts should prove helpful to those who are engaged in teacher recruitment.

Family income appears to be related to vocational choice. Students whose parents fall in the lower income brackets tend to choose teaching more often than those having well-to-do parents. This fact has been consistently observed throughout the history of the profession, and it seems doubtful if any substantial change could be brought about by a direct attack on this problem. Nevertheless, this relationship does have important implications which deserve study. To the degree that economic background is related to cultural background, the existing situation is unfavorable. As the standard of living approaches a level in the United States that will allow the typical family to provide children with the major cultural advantages heretofore limited to members of the upper classes, the matter of family background *per se* will become less important.

Sparsity of population is a factor in recruitment. The rural areas of the United States have contributed a much larger proportion (relatively) of teachers than have the urban centers. Similarly, in the past, graduates of small high schools have been more favorably disposed toward teaching than graduates of large high schools. Whether or not the interest in teaching exhibited by pupils in rural areas and those graduating from small high schools is due to limited vocational opportunities or to some phase of the educational program cannot definitely be stated.

Wealthy residential communities do not appear to be contributing their share of recruits, if the results of a study made in seventy selected school systems in the New York metropolitan area are typical. Only 6 per cent of the high school seniors in the school systems studied gave any serious thought to entering teaching.<sup>11</sup> Since there is in these communities a relatively high proportion of gifted parents, the indifference of their children toward teaching has significant implications. The problem is further highlighted in a 1952 study, made in Brookline, Massachusetts, in which selected members of parent-teacher associations and members of certain other local organizations were asked to list the occupations which they would encourage their children—sons or daughters—or ac-

quaintances to enter. Not one of the respondents listed teaching for their sons and only a small minority mentioned teaching as a vocation they would like their daughters or acquaintances to follow.<sup>12</sup> While this study was limited to a relatively small number of persons and represented the reactions of the more favored economic group in the town of Brookline, it probably is fairly typical of the reactions of adults in wealthy communities generally.

The major problem in teacher recruitment is not discovering talent. It is encouraging gifted students to enter teaching in competition with opportunities in business and the other professions. Considerations of prestige and money are the chief obstacles to be overcome. Although no one is in a position to say just how many gifted seniors in any given community should be guided into teaching (or any other vocation for that matter), a general principle might be voiced to the effect that each year economically favored communities should contribute to public school teaching a quota of talented seniors equal at least to the number of teachers required annually to fill all local vacancies. This would relieve the less favored school systems of a responsibility which they are ill-prepared to carry and could have the effect, over the years, of upgrading the quality of the profession.

#### UNFAVORABLE PUBLIC OPINION

A fourth obstacle in the way of procuring talented young men and women for teaching is the current public image of school teachers. Since early colonial days, teachers have most often been portrayed as unsympathetic, austere, impractical, and impoverished individuals. Glamour and charm have not been qualities commonly associated in the public mind with schoolteachers. Authors, artists, movie script writers, playwrights, and, currently, TV personnel have contributed to this stereotype.<sup>13</sup> It is little wonder, therefore,

<sup>12</sup> Institute of Field Studies, *Survey Report, Salaries of the Professional Staff, Brookline Public Schools, Brookline, Massachusetts* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952), p. 104.

<sup>13</sup> For example, the TV character of Mr. Peepers, the ineffectual junior high school science teacher. See H. M. Lafferty, "Hollywood Views the School Teacher," *School and Society*, Vol. 62, Aug. 11, 1945, pp. 92-94.

Also Don C. Charles, "The Stereotype of the Teacher in American Literature," *Educational Forum*, Vol. 14, March, 1950, pp. 299-303.

teachers and teaching have not changed much in a generation. Nothing short of a well-planned campaign directed toward modifying this viewpoint will lead the members of this group to revise their opinions.



"I never thought of her as a woman—always as a teacher!"

Harry Mace, copyright King Features Syndicate.

#### PORTRAYAL IN MOVIES

Probably one of the most effective means of changing the existing public image of schoolteachers is through the medium of moving pictures. While the authors know of no research to substantiate the claim that the prestige of certain occupations or professions has been enhanced or degraded through the movies, it is reasonable to conclude that such is the case. The Dr. Kildare pictures have portrayed physicians in a most favorable light, and it is

difficult to imagine an audience that would be uninfluenced by the experience of seeing these appealing dramatizations. A comparable audience reaction was undoubtedly evoked through the presentation of several popular moving pictures in which priests were depicted in most sympathetic and attractive roles.<sup>11</sup> Schoolteachers have seldom been portrayed so favorably. In fact, with few exceptions, the portrayals have tended to support the existing public image of schoolteachers and have not in any way enhanced their prestige.<sup>12</sup>

Since it is reasonable to believe that talented young men and women may be influenced against choosing teaching as a career by unfavorable roles accorded teachers in the movies, the matter cannot be logically ignored by those who wish to improve the quality of the teaching profession through recruitment. The only hope lies in securing the cooperation of movie script writers and directors. While it may appear to be a bit naïve to assume that the moving picture industry could be persuaded to give careful consideration to this problem, it is certainly an idea worth exploring. The National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, representing more than a half million public school teachers, would seem to be the logical organizations to bring this matter to the attention of the moving picture industry and to assist in bringing about a change in policy.

#### TEACHERS AS CENTRAL CHARACTERS IN NOVELS

Fiction writers, whenever they have elected to include teachers in their stories, also have commonly portrayed them as unattractive or uninteresting characters. Although the English novel, *Goodbye, Mr. Chips*,<sup>13</sup> may be cited by some as proof that this generalization is untrue, Mr. Chips, although pictured as a lovable character, is by no means the prototype of the ideal American teacher. He lacks force and virility and the portrait is that of a good but ineffectual person. As for American novels, the few efforts of authors to use teachers as central characters and to present them in sympathetic roles have failed thus far to have any

<sup>11</sup> Examples are *Going My Way* and *The Bells of St. Mary's*.

<sup>12</sup> Pictures like the French film, *Passion for Life*, in which a public school teacher is the hero are few and far between.

<sup>13</sup> James Hilton, *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1934).

significant influence on public opinion. In fact, up to now the most gifted authors apparently have not been inspired to weave into their novels the activities and concerns of public school teachers. Yet it seems logical that the latter should provide a promising field for novelists to explore. Perhaps generous prizes should be offered for the best novel depicting a public school teacher as a sympathetic major character. Or perhaps, because of the great social significance of public school teaching, the interest of some outstandingly successful author might be aroused and his cooperation enlisted.

Other media, such as the theater, television, and radio, should be exploited in an effort to correct the erroneous impression about teachers and teaching which is still so widespread. Teachers' associations and parents' organizations should bend every effort to secure the cooperation of all the agencies just mentioned. No other group, except the children of America, have so much to gain from a change in public attitude toward the profession of teaching as do teachers themselves.

#### INDIFFERENCE OF LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

The last and perhaps the most important obstacle to successful recruitment relates to the apathy of local teachers' associations toward the recruitment problem. Examination of the programs of local teachers' clubs and associations will reveal little concern for what could easily be the most important factor in the future welfare of their members; that is the quality of those who are to be their associates. It doesn't require a great deal of intelligence to see the relationship between salaries or prestige on the one hand and the ability of those who make up a profession or vocation on the other hand. Yet, for some unknown reason, teachers up to now have displayed little interest in recruitment, and the matter has been left almost wholly to state authorities and agencies. It is high time that this situation was altered. Local teachers' associations should include recruitment as an integral part of their programs and should appoint recruitment committees to study the problem and to take the steps that promise to produce effective results. Undoubtedly the first task of such committees would be to ascertain the facts on supply and demand for the state as a whole and then

study their relationship to the local situation. Moreover, these committees could do much to arouse teachers to their individual recruitment responsibilities and could help to subordinate, if not overcome, some of the earlier mentioned negative reactions of teachers toward the profession. It is probable also that local recruitment committees might exercise leadership in encouraging lay groups to participate in recruitment programs. Other specific functions appropriate for such committees would undoubtedly emerge with experience. One conclusion seems obvious: teachers' associations cannot afford to ignore this problem any longer.

In summary, the recruitment of teachers is probably the most significant problem confronting education today. It appears, from the best estimates available, that at least 1,300,000 new teachers will be required to fill the vacancies that will occur during the current decade. Reduced to terms that have significance for local school administrators, this means that nearly one out of every eleven high school graduates will have to be persuaded to go into teaching if supply is to keep pace with expected demand. Since quality as well as numbers is an important consideration, approximately 45 per cent of the high school graduates who stand in the upper quartile of their class in intelligence, scholastic aptitude, and personality are needed if teaching is to compete successfully with other professions for talent.

Several serious obstacles must be overcome before the recruitment problem can be happily resolved. First, the negative attitude of a vocal minority of teachers toward the profession must be modified and teachers generally aroused to the need of attracting gifted young men and women into the profession. Second, something constructive must be done to increase salaries and assure successful teachers a cultural standard of living. Unless this is achieved, other measures will fail. Third, it is apparent that school administrators and guidance counselors have not taken full advantage of the research findings bearing on vocational interests. These findings need to be disseminated and utilized in recruitment campaigns. *Fourth, it is essential that the current public image of schoolteachers be altered and that teachers and teaching be portrayed in as favorable a light as is consistent with the truth.* In order to achieve this, it is essential that such powerful media as the movies, television, radio, and fiction writing be utilized, and

that every effort be made by teachers' associations and friends of education generally to secure the sympathetic cooperation of those who control the various communication media mentioned. Finally, it is imperative that local teachers' associations make recruitment an integral part of their programs and assume some leadership in discovering and attracting able young people into the profession. If this were done generally throughout the United States, and if the other steps just enumerated were taken, there would be every reason for the profession to face the future with confidence.

### RECRUITMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND SUPERVISORY PERSONNEL

There have been few if any systematic efforts made to recruit gifted young men and women for administrative and supervisory positions. As might be expected, most of these vacancies are filled from the ranks of teachers. A few school systems are experimenting with leadership seminars—groups of individuals selected from the teaching staff who give promise of supervisory and/or administrative talent. Although these seminars are created principally to study school problems, they have the additional purpose of revealing leadership qualities, which assists the superintendent in re-assigning and counseling members of the staff. Guidance is, of course, usually given to individual teachers by superintendents and experienced principals as a means of recruiting supervisory and administrative personnel for the local school system. The teachers counselled are urged to get the necessary preparation for whatever positions they want, then they are encouraged to seek them. In some instances they are given an opportunity to assume some administrative responsibility, largely for the value of the experience itself.

Through a sizeable grant from the Kellogg Foundation, several university centers are studying, as one phase of a major project designed to improve the superintendency, the matter of recruiting men for school administration. This study promises to throw considerable light on the best way in which to discover and recruit administrative talent.

It seems probable that recruitment of leadership personnel will

become a shared responsibility of colleges of education and local school systems. Through a carefully planned internship program it will be possible both to discover the potentialities of the student for exercising leadership and to give him the practical experiences which should be an essential part of his training.

Thus far little can be said in support of any paper and pencil tests or any standardized performance tests as a means of identifying leadership talent for public school personnel. It is possible that future research will provide a more objective and perhaps more economical procedure for discovering school administrators than now exists. Until then, school systems will do well to experiment with internship arrangements similar to those now provided by several university schools of education,<sup>11</sup> or to try out the type of leadership seminar described earlier.

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<sup>11</sup> Clarence A. Newell, *Handbook for the Development of Internship Programs in Educational Administration* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, May, 1952).

## 2 CERTIFICATION

The qualifications that must be possessed by a public school staff member before he is legally permitted to function are known generally as certification requirements. They are established on the state level as a protection to the public, to assure that youth shall have competent instructors. The possession of a certificate, however, does not entitle one to a position. It simply testifies to employing authorities that minimum requirements have been met, and local employers may demand higher qualifications than those needed for the license.

There has been a tendency, accelerated since World War II, to revise certification requirements in almost every state. Although minor changes have been characteristic of the history of certification in most states, the first decade after that war was notable for comprehensive modifications. Causes of the situation were complex, but several stood out. Increased citizen interest in the public schools became markedly apparent in the late 1940's. This was encouraged by a relatively new (in terms of rather general acceptance) professional philosophy that the effectiveness of schools could be enhanced greatly by enlisting the participation of lay citizens in defining goals and policies. Since certification requirements for teachers historically had been determined largely by small groups of laymen in state legislatures and on boards of education, a wider base of lay interest and participation encouraged new ideas.<sup>1</sup> Also, circumstances during and following the war pointed up the indispensable role of public education in the preservation and improvement of the American way of life. Obviously, better qualified teachers could provide better educational experiences for children.

<sup>1</sup> Boards controlling the professions of law and medicine, by contrast, generally are composed of men and women trained and experienced in those callings.

Moreover, after World War II, the profession itself began to awaken and to drive aggressively for improved standards.<sup>2</sup>

Another factor drawing attention to the problem was the extreme dearth of teachers to handle greatly increased enrollments in the postwar period. Studies had pointed out that low standards militated against a more widespread desire to enter the profession. The high-standard states were not as hard hit by the shortage as the lower-standard states. One potent reason, of course, was that salaries and working conditions were better in high-standard states, but favorable working conditions go hand-in-hand with high standards, and raising salaries without standards to eliminate those unworthy of substantially increased salaries is politically difficult and professionally questionable.

## RELATION OF TEACHER EDUCATION TO CERTIFICATION

Inextricably associated with teacher certification is teacher training. Clearly, certification regulations pertaining to amount and kind of preparation are meaningless unless quality of training is taken into account. Although an adequate discussion of teacher training programs is beyond the scope of this volume, their interrelations with certification problems must be pointed out. One does not have to be thoroughly familiar with teacher training in the United States to be aware of the existence of deficiencies. It is no secret that not all of the approximately twelve hundred institutions accredited by some agency or other to train teachers provide adequate offerings.

Accreditation procedures vary widely from state to state in both principle and practice. State boards of education commonly have the legal power of accreditation, and state departments of education recommend institutions to be approved. So far as teacher preparation is concerned, three patterns of approval may be differentiated: (1) approval of an institution for any kind of program in higher education, and therefore for training of any category of teacher (nursery, elementary, mathematics, music, etc.); (2) approval of an institution specifically for training teachers without stipulating any categories; (3) approval, in an institution, of specific programs designed for certain types of educational personnel.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 45.

Some state agencies are well equipped to execute the function of evaluating courses and programs. Others rely on the integrity of the institution so far as quality of educational experience is concerned. In a number of states there is no procedure for periodic evaluation to see that what was once a satisfactory program remains worthy of approval.

Accrediting is performed also by regional associations, such as the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges. On a national level the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education performs this function. A promising development was the establishment, effective in 1954, of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education. This organization, composed of representatives of five organizations (American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards of the National Education Association, National Council of Chief State School Officers, and the National School Boards Association), hopes to help alleviate the somewhat chaotic conditions present in teacher education by providing legal agencies responsible for teacher education and certification with a sound basis for operation.

### GENERAL TEACHER CERTIFICATION PATTERNS

Certification requirements in the various states differ to an extent that defies more than broad generalization. Terminology is very inconsistent, and a certificate of a certain name might mean different things in different states. Also, most states issue several different certificates for elementary and secondary teachers based on different qualifications of training and experience. The number of differently named elementary and secondary teaching certificates runs as high as ten for an individual state. There is wide variance among certificates in regard to the total number of hours of preparation required, number of hours in professional courses, amount of practice teaching, number of hours in general education, specific courses required, period for which the certificate is valid, and requirements for renewal. Details relating to certificates for public school personnel other than teachers are even more dissimilar. To

deal with specifics of certification practices would require several pages per state. An overview, however, can be given through a few generalizations.

In about half of the states it is possible for a teacher to obtain a regular (as differentiated from a provisional) certificate to teach in elementary schools with preparation of less than a bachelor's degree (See Table 1). As of September, 1953, twenty-four states require four years of preparation for the lowest elementary certi-

TABLE 1

REQUIREMENTS IN COLLEGE YEARS FOR LOWEST REGULAR  
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHING CERTIFICATE IN 1953

<i>Four years</i>	<i>Between three and four years</i>	<i>Three years</i>	<i>Between two and three years</i>	<i>Two years</i>	<i>Less than two years</i>
Arizona	Alabama	None	Iowa	Colorado	Arkansas
California	Idaho		Minnesota	Kansas	Michigan
Connecticut	Maine		Montana	New Mexico	Mississippi
Delaware	Oklahoma		Nevada	Wyoming	Missouri
Florida	Oregon		West Virginia		Nebraska
Georgia			Wisconsin		North Dakota
Illinois					South Dakota
Indiana					Texas
Kentucky					
Louisiana					
Maryland					
Massachusetts*					
New Hampshire					
New Jersey					
New York					
North Carolina					
Ohio					
Pennsylvania					
Rhode Island					
South Carolina					
Tennessee					
Utah					
Vermont					
Virginia					
Washington					

Source: Adapted from data in W. Earl Armstrong and T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States, 1953 Edition*, p. 2. (Washington: National Education Association, 1953).

\* Effective in 1954.

cate, five require at least three, ten require at least two, six require at least one, and two require less than one. (The state certification plan in Massachusetts calling for four years was adopted in 1951 to become operative in 1954.) Although this status may be shocking to those who look upon education as important to the welfare of the country and to those who view education as a "profession," it represents a very substantial improvement over the situation existing not very long ago. A bachelor's degree is accepted as the minimum for high school teachers in forty states with four other states (Arizona, California, New York, and Washington) requiring five years of preparation for regular certification. Three states (Arkansas, Mississippi, and Texas) require a minimum of two years of college training and one (Oklahoma) requires slightly over three years for high school teachers.

Professional courses are prescribed in almost all instances, although striking differences are apparent in amount of work taken and in the courses which may be used to fulfill the stipulations. More semester hours generally are required for elementary-level certificates than for high school ones. According to Armstrong and Stinnett, in 1953 the median number of semester hours in professional courses needed to qualify for an elementary certificate based on a college degree was twenty-four, with the mode being thirty. For high school certificates based on a degree, both the median and mode were eighteen hours.<sup>2</sup> Some states simply mandate a total number of hours in professional courses, and, at the other extreme, some require certain numbers of hours in definite fields or courses. Student teaching is almost universally prescribed, although successful experience sometimes can be substituted. About half of the states have rules regarding the minimum amount of credits which must be earned in background courses in academic fields. Such general education requirements usually are in excess of the courses needed in the specialized subject field or fields for high school teachers. Both kinds of requirements range widely. Almost a third of the states specify one or more special courses for certification, such as state history or health education. In addition to academic preparation, one or more of the following are usually

<sup>2</sup>W. Earl Armstrong and T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States*, 1953 Edition (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1953), p. 11.

prescribed: minimum age, health certificate, United States citizenship, allegiance oath, character references, recommendation from training institution, and recommendation from superintendent wishing to employ candidate.

In most states the certifying authority has power to revoke certificates. The provisions are typically brief statements which, at the most, enumerate some causes and some procedural points. The vast majority do not explicitly afford the generally accepted principles of tenure protection. In practice, however, not many certificates are revoked. The security of teachers lies primarily in the area of tenure rights to a given position, not in the realm of certificate possession. A medical doctor or a lawyer is launched on his career once he has a license, but a teacher, in addition, needs a job or he is stymied.

### PREPARATION OF EMPLOYED TEACHERS

The most recent nationwide statistics on the preparation of teachers were for the school year 1947-48. At that time the situation was far from ideal despite significant gains over preceding decades. Only approximately sixty per cent (59.1) of public school teachers held as much as a bachelor's degree.<sup>4</sup> Less than fifteen per cent (14.4) had a master's degree or higher preparation, while thirteen per cent (12.9) had less than two years of college training. There were startling variations among the forty-eight states. The states paying the highest salaries had, on the whole, the better qualified teachers. Elementary teachers as a group consistently had less training than secondary school teachers and rural teachers less than those in urban areas.

Fortunately, a steady improvement is taking place in teacher qualifications in all forty-eight states. According to one series of studies, embracing about two thirds of the states, the number of elementary school teachers possessing at least four years of college training rose from about forty-nine per cent in 1949 to approximately sixty per cent in 1953, while the number with less than two years decreased from about seventeen per cent to roughly eight

<sup>4</sup> *The Forty-Eight State School Systems* (Chicago: The Council of State Governments, 1949), p. 202.

per cent.<sup>5</sup> As late as 1951-52, however, nearly a quarter of those in one-teacher rural schools had less than two years of college training, and fewer than one quarter were college graduates.<sup>6</sup> Although improvements have been made, it has been estimated that at the average annual rate established over the last fifteen years, it will take until the school year 2038-2039 for all those in one-teacher rural schools to become degree-holding teachers.<sup>7</sup>

Many of the ill-prepared teachers described above do not hold regular certificates, but are teaching on emergency or temporary permits. Yet they *are* teaching some of our children, and the kind of certificate they have is essentially of no import so far as those children and their futures are concerned.

### CERTIFICATION OF ADMINISTRATORS

Certification for administrative positions involves many of the problems inherent in teacher licensing. Relatively little attention, however, has been devoted to it until recently. This circumstance is due primarily to the theory, only lately exploded, that administrative positions, if granted on merit rather than on other considerations, should be awarded to the best teachers or the oldest teachers. The idea of special training and qualifications for school administrators is wholly a feature of the twentieth century and principally of the second quarter of that period. Substantial progress has been made lately in developing the field of educational administration; yet much needs to be done in the areas of conceptualizing the position, setting up training programs, and fixing standards for licensing.

The variations among state requirements for administrative credentials are even greater than for teaching certificates. In general, administrators must hold teaching certificates and must have had some teaching experience. Most states have legislated at least some course work in educational administration, although relatively few

<sup>5</sup> *The 1953 Teacher Supply and Demand Report* (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, 1953. Reprinted from *Journal of Teacher Education*, March, 1953), p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Rural Teachers in 1951-52*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 31, No. 1. (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, February, 1953), p. 12. According to the United States Office of Education, the number of one-teacher schools in 1949-50 was 59,652.

<sup>7</sup> *Loc. cit.*

have extensive requirements for administrators. A few states have no special certification provisions for administrators beyond those for teachers, and several which have requisites for certain administrative certificates do not make it mandatory that such licenses be held by practicing administrators. One result of the generally unsatisfactory certification conditions for administrators is that in most states the supply of administrators qualified for a license greatly exceeds the number of administrative openings.

If public education is to move forward to higher levels of operation, considerably more attention to certification of administrators will be needed. Well-qualified executives can give tremendous impetus to the program of a school or a system; conversely, poorly qualified administrators can impede progress to an alarming extent. The Cooperative Program in Educational Administration, sponsored by the Kellogg Foundation and initiated in 1950, can be instrumental in the establishment of adequate certification requirements for school administrators based on extensive research into the nature of the administrator's job and what training he needs to fill it adequately. It is to be hoped that those responsible for certification programs for administrators can profit from experiences with teacher certification and, under such stimuli as the Kellogg project, can make rapid strides in the near future to compensate for a slow start in this area so vital to the welfare of the schools.

## WELL-ESTABLISHED TRENDS

### CENTRALIZATION OF THE CERTIFICATION FUNCTION

At the turn of the century a centralized teacher licensing authority existed in only a few states. The typical pattern featured the issuance of certificates mainly by county or local authorities. The standards in about half of the states were left up to county agencies. In most of the others, where the state made the regulations and determined test questions, the county scored the examination and issued the licenses. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, about one third of the states issued all certificates through a state agency, almost always the state department of education. By the end of the second decade about half of the states, and by 1930 about three-fourths of them, had adopted the

centralized pattern. By mid-century, the state department of education had assumed primary responsibility for certification in all states (Massachusetts being the last by the aforementioned 1951 law effective in 1954). In a few states, state colleges still are permitted to grant certificates, and in a small number, large cities may do so.

The centralization trend has been a significant one in the evolution of the teaching profession, for local licensing was not conducive to the establishment and maintenance of high standards. Political and religious influences often crept in, inefficiency often resulted because local officials sometimes were not qualified to perform this function, and provincialism was encouraged because certificates valid only in a given county would tend to be sought chiefly by residents of that county.

#### CERTIFICATES BASED ON TRAINING, NOT ON EXAMINATION

Concurrently with the development of the centralized licensing agency for teachers came the trend to grant certificates on a basis of a specified training program rather than on a basis of an examination, the latter method being the one common at the beginning of the twentieth century. The development of schools for preparing teachers gave impetus to the movement to accept credits as evidence of competence. Validation of credits from normal schools expanded to acceptance of those from other institutions of higher education within a state and finally to approval of studies completed in accredited institutions regardless of geographical location. During the early days, when graduates of accredited schools commonly were exempt from examinations, tests still were given for other candidates. By mid-century, examinations for certification were almost nonexistent, with only four states (Florida, Missouri, North Dakota, and Texas) authorizing any general certificates based on examination. In 1953, Florida and South Carolina were utilizing the National Teacher Examinations for upgrading certificates. In large cities eligibility lists frequently are compiled as a result of examinations, but candidates have to fulfill state certification requirements before taking such tests.

It is interesting to note that teaching has followed a path completely dissimilar to those of the professions of law and medicine,

where graduation from approved training programs is not synonymous with licensing. In order to practice law or medicine, passing of examinations is generally required.

#### CERTIFICATES VALID ONLY FOR SPECIFIED PERIODS

During the nineteenth century the granting of teaching licenses valid for the life of the holder was common. In some states there was a "ladder" of certificates, with the top rung being the permanent certificate. Where qualifications were high in terms of those needed for other certificates, the life certificate frequently became a symbol of attainment to be sought by ambitious teachers. The incentive effect of the life certificate was a good one in many localities during the early days. Regrettably, the standards for attaining permanent certification in some states were low, and, as a consequence, many states eventually found themselves with a large percentage of their teachers inadequately trained but enjoying life certification. The life certificate tended more and more to serve as a barrier to the improvement of teaching within a state. Even those states that had granted life certificates on a basis of relatively high standards found this unfortunate situation prevailing as new insights into the process of education evolved. The finality of training inherent in permanent certification militated against continuous professional growth, which became more and more important as the field of education developed. In many states teachers who had earned such certificates on the basis of standards which were high at the time of issuance became relatively poorly trained in terms of new entrants to the profession; yet the states were helpless to combat the situation. Assuming that standards will continuously rise, there is little justification for issuing a certificate that will serve as license for performing the teaching function for a period which may extend over four decades. It would not be equitable, of course, to raise standards retroactively, and it is true that life certificates tend to prevent this. To adopt this method, however, seems to the authors to be a case of utilizing a remedy worse than the disease. A promising solution is to grant certificates for a period of five years and provide reasonable renewal requirements based on evidence of professional growth.

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centralized pattern. By mid-century, the state department of education had assumed primary responsibility for certification in all states (Massachusetts being the last by the aforementioned 1951 law effective in 1954). In a few states, state colleges still are permitted to grant certificates, and in a small number, large cities may do so.

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granting of life certificates in the literal sense. The trend has been more pronounced since World War II. Armstrong and Stinnett reported in 1953 that "most of the states which have revised [in recent years], or are in the process of comprehensive revision of certification requirements, have abandoned the life certificate."<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that some states use the word "permanent" or "continuing" in naming certain certificates that are not valid for life but must be renewed periodically according to specified conditions.

#### CERTIFICATES VALID ONLY FOR SPECIALIZED EDUCATIONAL ASSIGNMENTS

Up to the first part of the twentieth century "blanket" certificates valid for any assignment in a school system were in common use. A teacher was licensed to "teach" and could practice his art at any grade level and in any subject called for by the position he happened to attain. Particularly during the 1920's and 1930's, special, as distinguished from general, certificates became customary. Special certificates were first used for teachers of such subjects as art and music and for administrators. This was followed by differentiations between elementary and secondary teachers. Some states added licenses for junior high school teachers, and most began to specify the subjects for which a secondary-level certificate was valid. As new positions in public schools developed, special certification requirements for those occupying the positions evolved; for example, nursery school teacher, guidance worker, and school librarian. About a third of the states still issue a kind of blanket certificate for high school teaching, which does not mention any specific fields. In effect most of these states have requirements for teaching a given subject, but the regulations are enforced by local school boards or accrediting associations, rather than by certifying authorities.

That some specializations should be recognized in certification requirements is generally conceded. As the trend towards more special certificates has grown, however, some educators have begun to warn against overspecialization. A slight counter-trend, spurred by the shortage of elementary teachers after World War II, will be noted later under "Conversion Programs" and "Dual Certification."

<sup>5</sup> W. Earl Armstrong and T. M. Stinnett, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

## RISE IN STANDARDS OF PREPARATION

Despite the somewhat discouraging status of quantitative requirements for teacher certification cited earlier in this chapter, one of the most marked trends since 1900, and particularly since 1925, has been a steady rise in standards. Since standards were so abysmally low, the tremendous rise is sometimes overlooked because it still falls far short of what generally is recommended by leaders in the profession. Table 2 shows the improvements registered since 1921. Whereas thirty states had no stipulated academic requirements for applicants for certification about three decades

TABLE 2

SCHOLARSHIP REQUIREMENTS FOR LOWEST REGULAR TEACHING CERTIFICATES  
IN SELECTED YEARS

Minimum scholarship prerequisites	Number of states				
	1921	1926	1937	1951	1953
High school graduation and 4 years' training of higher grade.....	0	0	5	17	24
High school graduation and 3 years' training of higher grade.....	0	0	8	3	5
High school graduation and 2 years' training of higher grade.....	0	4	11	16	10
High school graduation and professional training, 1 year of higher grade....	0	9	8	9	6
High school graduation and some professional training, but less than 1 year	4	14	2	1	1
Four years' secondary school (may or may not include professional courses)	14	6	6	1	1
No definite scholarship requirement stipulated by state.....	30	15	8	1*	1*

Source: For 1921, 1926, and 1937 based on Benjamin W. Frazier, *Development of State Programs for the Certification of Teachers*, U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1938, No. 12 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 73; for 1951, based on W. Earl Armstrong and T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States*, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Circular 290 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 2; for 1953, based on W. Earl Armstrong and T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States*, 1953 Edition (Washington: National Education Association, 1953), p. 2.

\* Prior to 1954, Massachusetts did not provide for state certification. The law setting up statewide certification effective in 1954 provides for four years of college training.

college work needed, to be fully certificated to teach in elementary schools, was from four to more than thirty in 1951.<sup>11</sup> In most instances, at present writing, not much academic work is required of qualified high school teachers before they can begin teaching on the elementary level; usually they are permitted to fill in gaps in their preparation on an in-service basis within a time limit. Some states are very specific about the courses that are acceptable for such conversions, whereas others permit considerable latitude.

The last statement applies equally to college graduates not trained at all in education, except that such persons have to take more work in education before achieving initial certification.<sup>12</sup> In many of the conversion programs it is possible, with a little additional work, for a liberal arts graduate to obtain a master's degree in education.

A real evaluation of the success of conversion programs will not be possible for many years. Although created as emergency measures, they may achieve their greatest value not by helping to fill teacher vacancies now, but by providing researchers in succeeding decades with data for answering questions in the hazy field of what training is best for teachers.

#### PROFESSIONAL ACTION RELATING TO CERTIFICATION STANDARDS

The post-World War II period featured an upsurge of interest and action by professional bodies regarding certification standards. The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards was established by the National Education Association in 1946 to attack the problem. By the end of 1951 forty state

<sup>11</sup> W. Earl Armstrong and T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States*, 1951 Edition (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> In New Jersey, a liberal arts graduate must complete eighteen semester hours in education courses plus student teaching as pre-service training, with twelve more hours to be completed while engaged in teaching. The plan in New York permits holders of bachelor's degrees in any field to enroll in intensive teacher training programs offered in state institutions and selected private colleges and, after one summer, to begin teaching on a provisional basis. This program provides for annual certificate renewal, on a basis of summer session work and successful teaching experience, until full certification is achieved.

education associations had established similar committees.<sup>13</sup> The purpose of such groups is to involve as many members as possible of the teaching profession in the determination and implementation of desirable standards. The National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification also has been working actively in this area.

Advisory councils associated with state certification authorities were established in twenty-eight states by 1951.<sup>14</sup> The councils consist of representatives of state departments of education, state education associations, teacher training institutions, and active public school personnel, including administrators and teachers. Although the extent of their power is not the same in every state, they have been an important influence in most. Many educators believe that members of the profession should have more control over standards than is generally true now. They cite the fact that state boards in such fields as medicine, law, nursing, and architecture are composed essentially of people trained in those callings. Advisory councils and commissions on professional standards may well serve as media through which meaningful criteria for licensing public school personnel can be put into effect and kept up to date.

## LESS PRONOUNCED TRENDS

### REDUCTION IN CLASSES OF CERTIFICATES

A trend is noticeable in the direction of reducing the number of different classes of certificates issued by a state. Many states grant several kinds of credentials for teaching on the elementary or secondary level. These may be based on differences in kind of training, amount of training, quantity of experience, or quality of experience. They are valid for varying lengths of time, and are subject to different requirements for renewal. Most of them are traceable to a pattern of accretion in certificate development, rather than the more satisfactory pattern of redesign to keep up with progress in preparation insights. The authors believe that two

<sup>13</sup> T. M. Stinnett and J. G. Umstad, "Patterns of Cooperation in Administering State Teacher Education and Certification Programs," *Journal of Teacher Education*, Vol. 2, p. 272, December, 1951.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

regular certificates in a field would be appropriate. The first, at the minimum certification level, would be valid for a short period, at the end of which time the holder, through experience and additional training, would be able to qualify for a longer term license. This license would also be renewable upon evidence of professional growth. Some states now have only one certificate in an area, which may be oversimplification. Several states have eliminated certain classes of regular certification in recent years, but, unfortunately, very few have given new names to the certificates to convey clearly their nature. Thus, a "provisional" certificate in one state may in effect be equivalent to a "standard" one in another, or even to a "permanent" one in a third.

#### RECIPROCITY AMONG STATES

The numerous advantages of making it possible for a teacher trained in one state to become certified easily in other states center about the fact that such a situation tends to promote better educational programs for children. There is a broadening of the horizons of school systems by the introduction of new points of view and techniques, and teachers are encouraged to practice their profession in the situations where they believe they can be of most service. Yet only recently has general concern about this problem been manifested.

A great obstacle to geographical mobility in the profession has been the wide variation in certification requirements in different states, not only in amount of training but, more particularly, in details of training. Much remains to be done, although the situation has been improving, spurred by the teacher shortage during and after World War II and influenced by the leadership of the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards of the National Education Association and the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification. A teacher who is eligible for the highest certificate in one state may not be able to obtain any regular certificate in another state because he lacks a specific course or does not have sufficient hours of credit in some course or area, such as child development, methods of instruction, student teaching, or major field for high school teachers.

Many of the certification barriers between states cannot be jus-

tified from an educational point of view. Somehow they got into the state laws or certification regulations, and they remain there due to apathy, lethargy, provincialism, tradition, vested interests, the notion that they are really significant, or assorted unclassifiable causes. Most of them are the result of *intrastate* rather than *interstate* thinking. While the authors sincerely endorse the status of education as a state rather than a federal function and would not want to alter it, they feel strongly that the qualities of a good teacher are essentially the same in Maine and California, in Washington and Florida. State certification requirements, therefore, should be basically similar, with desirable variations made part of the superstructure, as it were, rather than part of the foundation.

Interchange of certificates among states was tried during the first quarter of the twentieth century, but was "abandoned as an unworkable procedure."<sup>15</sup> In fact, some who have studied the problem preclude such exchange from their definition of reciprocity, which is taken to refer to "substantial agreement among the states on concepts of the preparation necessary for a qualified teacher and to the development of acceptable administrative and non-credentialed devices to compensate for residual differences in such concepts as reflected in certification regulations. It does not refer to the mutual exchange and validation of teaching certificates among the states."<sup>16</sup>

The establishment of agreements among states on a regional basis can be noted as a trend gaining momentum at the beginning of the second half-century. These may be extralegal or may be adopted officially by state agencies responsible for certification. When the agreements are informal, it is hoped that eventually they will develop into formal arrangements which are binding. The increasingly frequent interstate meetings and discussions on this subject hold much promise.

The first legally adopted reciprocity compact took effect in 1941 for high school teachers in thirteen states in the southeastern part of the country. The compact, ratified by the affected state boards of education, presented a general pattern of preparation acceptable in those states and provided that a one-year certificate would be given

<sup>15</sup> T. M. Stunnett, Harold J. Bowers, and E. B. Robert, "Interstate Reciprocity in Teacher Education-Certification," *Journal of Teacher Education*, Vol. 1, p. 60, March, 1950.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

## REQUIREMENTS EXPRESSED IN LESS DETAIL

A trend for states to specify less detail in their teacher licensing requirements is discernible, although there is a wide disparity in this respect. Some states still have very detailed prescriptions; for example, four hours in educational psychology, two hours in history of education, six hours in child growth and development. The purpose and background of such rigid prescriptions can perhaps be understood, but such regulations can hardly be condoned. Why should four hours of educational psychology be better than three or five, particularly when the content of courses bearing that title varies so widely? Such stipulations are unjustifiable from the point of view of validity. Furthermore, they tend to force intrastate institutions to fit their curricula to the narrow requirements, and they become barriers to those trained out-of-state, where courses are likely not to be so tailored.

More and more states are adopting the general plan of specifying rather broad areas in which professional work must be taken. New Jersey, for instance, requires, for secondary teachers, a distribution of credits over four or more of the following groups, including at least one course in each of the first three: methods of teaching, educational psychology, health education, foundations of education, curriculum, and guidance. New York uses the broad area plan, with minimum and maximum semester hours in each area creditable toward the minimum total. It goes even further and provides for acceptance of "integrated programs of professional study and training" which are the "substantial equivalent" of the more detailed requirements.

## NEXT STEPS

Great progress has been made in the field of teacher licensing, but many problems remain. The amount of activity in this area since the mid-1940's has been very encouraging. Most of the trends treated in the preceding sections have pointed in the right direction. The great theoretical stumbling block to progress lies in the difficulty of objectively defining the qualities of a good teacher so that certification requirements can be devised to assure that those licensed to teach possess such knowledge, skills, abilities, and attitudes.

An interwoven consideration involves the area of teacher preparation. Ultimately the standards of training sought by certification procedures cannot be divorced from the quality of training offered at preparing institutions. Some liberal arts colleges have shown a deplorable tendency to attract students by adding one or two staff members to offer the minimum courses required for state certification. Equally difficult to justify is the existence of colleges, devoted entirely or primarily to teacher education, whose staffs are inadequate both in terms of numbers and qualifications. Among the professions, liberally interpreted, teaching stands out as the one which has not clamped down on inadequate preparing institutions. The issue is especially crucial because teaching is also one of the few professions that do not require examinations prior to entering practice. In the medical and legal professions not only are training schools approved by the profession of practitioners, but bodies of practitioners examine graduates of these schools before they can be licensed. It has been suggested by some that this idea might be studied for possible applicability to the teaching profession, which has taken the position that accreditation should be *either* by institutional approval or by examination, and has favored the former. The latter is in deserved disrepute because of experiences many years ago with tests which often were not made according to the best techniques even of that prior era. Much, however, has been learned about test construction in recent years, and techniques other than pencil and paper ones have been created.

The question naturally arises as to the proper role of state certification in relation to local selection. The state traditionally has set up minimum standards, with local authorities adding to these according to their insights and desires. Would it be desirable, therefore, for the state to establish more elaborate certification processes? To the authors the answer is an unequivocal "yes"—not only to assure that higher qualifications prevail throughout the state, but also to protect the highly qualified from unfair competition from the poorly qualified, whose presence lowers the status of the profession.

Most states still have higher standards for secondary-level teachers than for teachers in elementary schools. This archaic practice, based on the misconception that high school teaching is more important and difficult than elementary teaching, should be abolished. It hampers the feeling of unity within the profession, and it encourages feel-

ings of superiority or inferiority. Furthermore, it interferes with the operation of other personnel policies. For example, the equity of a single salary schedule is questionable if an elementary teacher can begin teaching after, say, three years of training, and a high school teacher must spend another year in training (with no income for that year) before beginning. Even though there is a differential for the added training, in many systems operating within such a framework, it would take a decade or more for the high school teacher to catch up financially to his less well-trained colleague in the elementary school. The slight trend toward equalizing quantitative standards for certification on all grade levels must be accelerated.

There is a feeling among some segments of the public and of the academic world that too much emphasis is being placed in certification requirements on training in method at the expense of content. Although some educators may regard this point of view as "traditional" and lightly dismiss it, there is grave danger in so doing. In about half the states a person can be certificated to teach elementary school with considerably less than a bachelor's degree, provided he has passed certain professional courses, and in almost any state four years is enough post-high school training to be accepted as a high school teacher, provided a proper distribution of professional courses can be shown. Yet a man with a doctor's degree from an outstanding university in an academic field, even if he has completed some education courses with distinction, cannot qualify for any certificate in most states if he lacks one or two "prescribed" kinds of courses. This is true despite the fact that he may have acquired this content through self-study or otherwise. The preceding is not intended to depreciate the value of professional courses, for they are the heart of professional training; rather, it is intended to bring into focus a situation which robs education of an untold number of very desirable people who do not decide to become teachers while in high school and hence do not follow the general pattern of teacher preparation. The authors believe that the certification function should be broadly conceived, and considered essentially an administrative one, as distinguished from a clerical one. Provision should be made more widely for discretionary judgments by competent persons within the spirit of the law. Perhaps there could be a board to evaluate cases which do not fit within the letter of the law but which seem deserving of added attention.

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Legion are the names of great teachers (so regarded by their pupils and colleagues—the *real test*) who could not be licensed to teach in the public schools today. In establishing standards for the many-faceted calling of teaching, care must be taken not to exclude the very good along with the very poor, and not to encourage too much conformity to a training pattern which may not be valid, however highly it is cherished by some. Flexibility must be sought.

The struggle to raise standards must be enthusiastically pursued. There are indications that the "vicious circle" of *low standards—low pay and poor working conditions—shortages of teachers—low standards* may be broken at the point of standards. In this connection it should be noted that the percentage of teachers holding emergency substandard licenses in a state does not seem to be influenced substantially by the certification requirements prevailing in that state. In 1949, the National Education Association's Research Division reported that "in the twenty-three states which grant regular certificates to teachers with two years of college or less, the average of the state per cents of teachers employed in 1948-49 holding emergency certificates was 11.4 per cent, while in the nineteen states which require four years of college for even elementary-school certificates, a similar average was 11.0 per cent."<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, in its 1953 teacher supply and demand study appears the statement that "the thirteen states which had established the degree standard for the elementary school certificate prior to World War II have been able to approach more nearly [than other states] the enforcement of this requirement, as indicated by the consistent, year-to-year reduction in the total number of emergency certificate holders in service."<sup>21</sup>

A puzzling and often exasperating aspect of the problem of elevating standards involves the attitudes toward teachers now in service who were qualified when they began teaching, according to standards in effect at that time, but who fall behind when standards are raised. On the one hand, it is unfair to those teachers to make requirements retroactive; on the other, it is unfair to

<sup>20</sup> *Teachers in the Public Schools*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, December, 1949), p. 120.

<sup>21</sup> *The 1953 Teacher Supply and Demand Report*, p. 14.

bases for different kinds (and names) of certificates, and more valid license renewal procedures. But only through discussion based on research will answers evolve.

### RELATED READINGS

- W. Earl Armstrong and T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States, 1953 Edition*. Washington: National Education Association, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, 1953.
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## — 3 — SELECTION

Although teacher recruitment is a matter of national concern and indirectly affects the efficiency of all school systems, the problem of selection at the local level has received by far the greatest attention. It therefore is not surprising that school board members, superintendents of schools, principals, supervisors, teachers, and many parents are greatly interested in additions and replacements to the existing teaching staff.

Strangely enough, however, this wide interest in teacher selection has not led local school boards and administrators generally to develop policies and procedures commensurate with the acknowledged importance of the problem. Existing practices, with some few exceptions, conform pretty closely to those employed in the earlier decades of the twentieth century. The following situation is typical of the steps usually taken.

A vacancy arises; the superintendent of schools telephones or writes to two or three placement bureaus in nearby teachers' colleges or universities asking for the "papers" and credentials of qualified persons interested in locating or relocating. At the same time a commercial agency may also be consulted. The credentials of several (perhaps five or six) candidates are then perused carefully by the superintendent of schools, and perhaps two or three candidates are interviewed for the job.

The interviews are conducted locally or at the offices of the placement bureau, or, if the candidate is teaching in a nearby school system, he may be interviewed there and his teaching observed. Not infrequently the principal of the school where the vacancy exists participates in the interview.

The name of the most promising candidate among those interviewed is then submitted to the board of education with a recommendation for appointment from the superintendent of schools.

If the board of education approves, a contract is offered, and if it is accepted, the selection process is completed.

There are some variations to the above procedure. Large city school systems, for example, commonly have boards of examiners whose function is to evaluate credentials and interview candidates for positions. An elaborate examination procedure, involving both written and oral questions, is sometimes followed. In most instances the candidates reside within the city in which the vacancy exists, and although no regulation prevents those outside from applying, in actual practice the numbers who do are negligible.

In most cities and villages the assumption underlying present procedures seems to be that selection can safely be restricted to candidates who are registered with nearby placement bureaus. Some school systems limit their search pretty consistently to teachers educated in institutions from within the state or to those employed in neighboring school systems. The more enterprising boards of education and superintendents of schools reach out and consult regional placement bureaus. These latter agencies operate largely in areas such as New England, the South, or the Northwest, and school systems that turn to these bureaus for promising candidates for teaching positions undoubtedly get a somewhat wider geographical representation of employees than do those that restrict their search to local institutions and agencies. Nevertheless, studies of the existing composition of teaching staffs will reveal a strong preference on the part of school boards for those educated in institutions within the state.

The reasons for confining the search for candidates to state or regional areas are understandable, even if regrettable. First of all, it takes less time to find them, second, it costs less money, and third, it is easier to satisfy the demands of school boards and administrators for particular teacher qualifications.

In order to bring selection practices in line with other administrative achievements of the past quarter century, it will be necessary to convince school board members and administrators of the importance of teacher selection in developing a good school system. The idea that the best is none too good for the community's children is generally voiced by parents and not infrequently by school board members. The full acceptance of this principle, however, has far-reaching implications for teacher selection.

Improvements, if they are to be made, will depend either on

*basic school board policies or on specific procedures* employed in the actual selection process. Hence the discussion which follows is organized around these two major aspects of the selection program.

## BASIC SCHOOL BOARD POLICIES

A board of education should limit its participation in teacher selection to the formulation of policies and, when filling vacancies, to passing on the specific recommendations of the superintendent of schools. School board members should not interview candidates nor spend hours of time trying to interpret the credentials of individual teacher applicants. The only exception to this principle is when a board of education is choosing a new superintendent of schools. The job of discovering talent and appraising the qualifications of applicants is a professional task which falls wholly within the province of the superintendent of schools. He may delegate some of this responsibility, but the board should hold him accountable for results. If the superintendent is not capable of selecting competent personnel he should be replaced. But under no circumstances should the board of education assume the function of teacher selection.

## TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS

The matter of developing and adopting wise selection policies will require much thought and effort on the part of the board of education if the interests of the school system are to be promoted. A planned program, as opposed to the haphazard procedures followed by many school systems, must almost of necessity begin with an attempt to define the local school system's views on what constitutes a qualified teacher. The board of education should take the leadership in initiating and carrying out such a project. The result should be a clarification of the philosophy of education to which the present staff and school board subscribe, which should provide guideposts for the administration to follow when making individual selections. Moreover, when formulated cooperatively by staff, board members, and representative citizens designated by the board of education, these locally developed descriptions of a truly qualified teacher can give a sense of direction to all members of the teaching staff in assessing their own qualifications.

Professor interested in education  
have occas- ments of teacher qual-  
ifications. A recent study by The Unmet Needs Committee of the  
Metropolitan School Study Council suggests that the following areas  
should be included in the plan of evaluating teacher qualifications:

**A. Personal and Social Characteristics**

Age, appearance, personal adjustment and emotional stability, social adjustment, sense of humor, friendliness, a certain amount of aggressiveness, organization of the personality, voice and speech, posture and self-confidence.

**B. Intellectual Abilities**

Ability to understand and express ideas, judgment, good reasoning ability and good English.

**C. Background**

General cultural knowledge, professional knowledge, knowledge of world problems, special competence in the chosen teaching field, and special aptitudes such as ability to supervise athletics and extra-curricular activities.

**D. Educational and Guidance Philosophy**

Attitude toward younger generation, attitude toward pupils in general, and attitude toward racial groups and minorities.

**E. Ability and Aptitudes in Instruction and Classroom Techniques**

Ability to plan and organize work, acceptance of each child as an individual, ability to develop students to their full potentialities, skill in maintenance of a healthy classroom environment, skill in aiding pupils to acquire a mastery of subject matter, and ability to develop capacity to apply this knowledge to practical life situations.

**F. Experience—Professional and Non-Professional**

Experience and training both professional and non-professional, scholastic standing and general accomplishments.

**G. Potentialities for Professional Growth**

Enthusiasm for teaching, genuine liking for children, interest in advancement, membership in professional organizations, participation in in-service training, and advanced professional courses.

**H. Physical Fitness**

Good vision and hearing, freedom from marked physical deformity or abnormality, and general good health.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metropolitan School Study Council, *Report on Teacher Selection by the Unmet Needs Group Studying the Problems of Emotional Stability*, MSSC (525 West 120th St., New York City, September, 1951), pp. 6, 7.

This list closely resembles the plan developed by the National Committee on Teacher Examinations of the American Council on Education.<sup>2</sup>

The Bronxville, New York, Public School System has given thoughtful consideration to the type of person the district wants to teach their children. As a guide in selecting new teachers and as a basis for self-evaluation by those already employed, the board of education and staff, working together, developed the following list of qualifications:

I. *The superior teacher is a person in his own right—*

1. He has deep personal integrity.
2. He has pride in his profession.
3. He has inner resources.
4. He enjoys his work.
5. He is actively interested in others and is a sympathetic listener.
6. He helps each person to discover the best in himself.
7. He has many and varied interests.
8. He maintains a balance of work and recreation.

II. *The superior teacher is committed to the democratic ideal—*

1. He respects the personality of each individual with whom he works, recognizing and cherishing differences as well as similarities in people.
2. He understands that freedom depends upon the individual's ability and willingness to accept the responsibility entailed by that freedom.
3. He sees his own contribution in relation to education as a whole.
4. He works to improve the opportunities for good learning and living in the school.

III. *The superior teacher gives unmistakable evidence of professional competence—*

1. He reacts with understanding to differences in human behavior.
2. He stimulates all children to work at their maximum capacity.
3. He considers moral growth intrinsic in a child's development.
4. He inspires a desire to learn.
5. He promotes a feeling that learning is a joint venture to which each individual brings a unique slant.
6. He is an acknowledged master in his chosen field of specialization.
7. He subjects his methods and materials of instruction to constant evaluation.

<sup>2</sup> David G. Ryans, *Comparing the Qualifications of Teachers*, National Committee on Teachers Examinations of the American Council on Education, *Teacher Selection Papers and Reports*, No. 11, June 10, 1947.

8. He understands approved methods of educational measurement and guidance.
9. He recognizes his responsibility for improved attitudes, work habits and skills.
10. He invites pupil participation in discussion and decision of issues which are of vital concern to them.
11. He includes his pupils in the formulation and understanding of his teaching purposes.
12. He aims to ensure the greatest possible security and emotional stability for his pupils.
13. He recognizes the pupils' need for a balanced program of work and relaxation.
14. He welcomes the aid of parents, staff members, school records, and all available sources of information in understanding children.
15. He respects the confidence of pupils, parents and other staff members, and protects personal and confidential data.
16. He accepts responsibility in routine matters, necessary in the successful operation of the school.
17. He is able to explain an educational point of view clearly and convincingly.<sup>2</sup>

Such statements as the foregoing should be helpful to administrators in selecting teachers. Without some such guide the process is likely to be haphazard and the results disappointing. A primary step, therefore, in developing a program of teacher selection is for the board of education to decide what traits, qualities, and competencies the school system wants its teachers to possess.

#### AMOUNT OF PREPARATION

A list of specific traits and competencies, such as the ones just enumerated, is no substitute for a general policy governing the minimum amount of preparation required of applicants for eligibility to fill teaching vacancies. Salary levels and the market, as it relates to supply and demand, will unquestionably determine, to some degree, how high training qualifications can safely be set. Many communities can probably require educational preparation of at least one year in amount beyond that called for by state certification regulations. Most states have either already established or are aiming to establish the bachelor's degree as the lowest training level

<sup>2</sup>The Bronxville Public School, Bronxville, N.Y., *The Bronxville School Salary Schedule, Its Objectives and Make-up*. Adopted May 17, 1948. pp. 2, 3.

acceptable for a certificate to teach in the public schools.<sup>4</sup> Hence the more economically favored communities can afford to limit their consideration of applicants to those holding at least a master's degree.

School boards and local school administrators, in considering minimum training requirements, should keep in mind that the level of preparation of teachers has been and is decidedly below that established for admission to other professions. What is even more significant is that the knowledge now available regarding teaching methods and child development cannot usually be acquired through programs that take less than five years' preparation beyond high school graduation. The present status will be improved only if state certification authorities and local school systems raise their standards.<sup>5</sup>

#### EXPERIENCE REQUIREMENTS

Traditionally, city school systems that could afford it have required teaching experience as a prerequisite to appointment. Two years has more often been stipulated than any other number of years as the amount of prior experience necessary for eligibility. Apparently educators generally have believed that experienced teachers were off to a head start when elected to a new position; that they required a minimum of supervisory assistance and produced better results. To the extent that an experience requirement prevailed (and in 1923 well over one third of the cities required elementary teachers and about half of the cities required secondary school teachers to present evidence of successful experience), the poorest communities bore the brunt of inducting new teachers into the profession. In general, these underprivileged school systems had fewer supervisors, and the conditions of teaching were less well suited to the job of orienting beginning teachers than were the school systems that imposed experience requirements. The effects of this practice were not salutary, to say the least. In recent years thoughtful students

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter 2 for discussion of existing certification standards.

<sup>5</sup> Frazier states that the preparation of teachers has been advancing on the average by one full year every decade. See Benjamin W. Frazier, *Education of Teachers as Function of State Departments of Education*, Federal Security Agency, U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin No. 8 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 87.

of the problem have pointed out the weaknesses inherent in setting up rigid experience requirements. First of all, a badly inducted teacher, upon appointment to a position in another school system, is likely to require more rather than less supervision, since he will probably have developed many bad teaching habits which will need to be corrected. Secondly, there is often a decided advantage in getting teachers directly from teacher preparatory institutions, so that their educational philosophy and that of the school system can be integrated early. A year or two of poorly guided experience can have devastating effects on the perspective of young teachers. Moreover, the injustice inherent in a policy which, in essence, consists of having the teachers of one district secure their first experience at the expense of the children of another district has become apparent to nearly everybody concerned.

Today only a small proportion of city school systems (less than 15 per cent) make teaching experience elsewhere a prerequisite. This marked change in policy is bound to lead to greater efficiency because of its effect on induction procedures. The abandonment of experience requirements does not mean that school systems should appoint only inexperienced teachers. Many vacancies arise for which experienced teachers are much better qualified than beginning teachers. Intelligent administrators will have no difficulty in recognizing these situations when they occur. But a school system blessed with good supervisors and principals and adequate financial support should induct its share of beginning teachers. Any other policy is selfish and shortsighted.

#### LOCAL RESIDENTS

Many boards of education and local school administrators are besieged with applications from local residents. The intensity of the problem varies from school system to school system, but the arguments pro and con remain much the same, and it is well for a school board to clarify its views with respect to it.

Sometimes the argument is heard that if hometown girls meet the certification requirements and are interested in the vacancies when they arise, they should be appointed, and outsiders should not be considered. The assumption underlying this point of view is fallacious. It implies that the business of the board of education is solely local in nature. Actually, education is a responsibility of

the state, and the latter's interests take precedence over that of the locality. To exclude applicants who reside outside the school district from consideration is detrimental to the interests of the state and is therefore indefensible.<sup>6</sup>

A more common stand for laymen and board members to take than the one just indicated is that when vacancies occur, *other things being equal*, local candidates should be given preference. The validity of this argument is also open to question. There are often subtle differences in the potentialities of teachers which do not appear on the surface but are related to the matter of residence. They have to do with willingness to keep abreast of educational developments, to improve one's qualifications through professional study, and to cooperate with supervisors and principals. Where school systems employ a large proportion of local residents, there is a likelihood that provincialism will occur. Lee Thurston, the late United States Commissioner of Education and former Superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan, in a significant bulletin on personnel policy development, sets forth a principle which supports the viewpoint just expressed. He says:

"Other things being equal, the school should employ only a limited number of hometown teachers. Hometown teachers tend to lead to cultural in-breeding."<sup>7</sup>

#### MARRIED WOMEN TEACHERS

According to the results of a recent nationwide inquiry, marriage is still a handicap to women applicants for teaching positions in many city school systems.<sup>8</sup> Preference is given to single women de-

<sup>6</sup>According to a report of the Research Division of the National Education Association, in 1951, eight city school systems, of the 1,575 reporting, limited appointment to local residents. *Teacher Personnel Practices, 1950-1951: Appointment and Termination of Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, February, 1952), p. 14.

<sup>7</sup>Lee M. Thurston, *Personnel Policy Development*, Bulletin No. 411 (Lansing, Michigan: Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1948), p. 6. For a good discussion of the issues involved in the employment of local residents as teachers, see Harold Snyder, *Educational Inbreeding*, Contributions to Education, No. 890 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947).

<sup>8</sup>*Teacher Personnel Practices, 1950-1951: Appointment and Termination of Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, February, 1952), p. 12.

spite the repeated statements of research students to the effect that married women are equally competent and perform their duties equally well. While the reasons given by school board members for discriminating against married women are undoubtedly varied, a common objection is that teaching positions should be reserved for single women and married men since married women presumably have husbands to support them. This point of view has been voiced not only by laymen but by single women teachers as well. In the middle 1920's it was expressed openly in a newspaper editorial in a city of well over 100,000 population:

*Attention, School Teachers:*

All young ladies who graduated from the Yonkers High School and who have prepared themselves at normal schools or universities for the profession of teaching, and who have found it impossible to obtain positions in Yonkers, would help materially in breaking up the present order of appointments by communicating with the Yonkers Record.

There is no question but that room should always be made for single girls who depend upon themselves for a living in their hometown schools. This would be possible and there would be berths for all if there were not so many married women doubling with their husbands in drawing two salaries from the City. These women may not be violating a City, State, or Federal law, but it is certain they are violating a moral law. They are holding jobs away from their more needy sisters.

This marriage circle in the school system of Yonkers should be broken up immediately. The girls who have been the victims are urged to cooperate by all means and write to this paper giving their account of their experience with the local School Board. All communications will be kept in strict confidence.\*

This line of reasoning is consistent with the so-called "public bounty theory," the essence of which is that public employment is viewed as a subsidy to be reserved for residents who most need it. Since married women presumably have means of support through the efforts of their husbands, they are not entitled to be paid from the public treasury. Although lay citizens generally do not accept the principles implicit in the public bounty theory, politicians embrace it as a heaven-sent opportunity to distribute patronage. Shortsighted board members, impressed by the philanthropic aspects of the argument, fail to see the long-term disadvantages implicit in this viewpoint.

## MARRIED WOMEN TEACHERS AND CHANGING MORES

There are admittedly philosophical as well as practical considerations related to the employment of married women. Historically (with certain rather noteworthy exceptions) there has been a strong prejudice against married women working. The traditional belief that woman's true existence is that of a homemaker and mother has been so deep-rooted in the culture and so widespread that, until lately, discriminatory practices have been the rule rather than the exception. Since social beliefs and behavior are full of inconsistencies, it is not surprising to find that certain groups of employees have not been significantly influenced by the generally accepted principle that a married woman's place is in the home. Chief among these exceptions are servants, nurses, actresses, and artists. The body politic has shown little if any concern over whether or not a housemaid was married or single, or whether or not an opera star or actress has been joined in bonds of holy matrimony. The logic behind these exceptions is hard to understand. What seems to be the most likely explanation is that certain social groups have altered the rules to suit their own purposes. Moreover, two world wars have left their imprint on the public's attitude toward married women working. Business employers today are much less likely to attach significance to the marital status of applicants. In fact, according to the United States Department of Labor, in 1951 there were 10.2 million married women in the labor force, or 55 per cent of all adult women employed in the United States.<sup>10</sup>

But despite the evidences of a change in viewpoint, many school boards still appear to be influenced by the traditional point of view regarding the appropriateness of married women being gainfully employed.

## RELATION TO BIOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL WELFARE OF THE RACE

There are certain biological and sociological implications to married women working which have led a few educators to raise questions about the effects of an open-door employment policy on the welfare of the race. When a married woman contracts for a full-time

<sup>10</sup> *Handbook of Facts on Women Workers*, Bulletin No. 242 (Washington: Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, 1952), p. 17.

also an ethical question involved in the theories just discussed. Even if one were to grant the possible negative influences of an open-door employment policy on the future biological and sociological welfare of the race, are regulation and discrimination the ways to achieve a solution to the problem?

#### EFFICIENCY OF MARRIED WOMEN TEACHERS

A lengthy discussion of the relative efficiency of married and single women teachers would throw little light on the problem beyond the corroboration of what students and observers have repeatedly reported. Married women teachers are equally as efficient as their unmarried sisters.

Studies have shown that there are a few points of difference between the two groups that might conceivably have a bearing on administration and supervision. Married women teachers apparently are absent on account of illness more frequently and for longer periods of time than single women. However, the average amount of absence of both groups is exceptionally small, and the differences between the averages are too slight to justify any discrimination in employment. The reasons for the greater amount of absence might, however, be a matter for study on the part of administrators and supervisors. Peters, in his study of single and married women teachers in Virginia, also found that single teachers were slightly more prone to respond to professional growth opportunities than married women teachers.<sup>11</sup> Here, again, the differences were small but would possibly be of interest to supervisors. Lest the reader be disturbed by these two negative findings regarding the efficiency of married women teachers, it should be pointed out that, according to Peters, the married women were rated superior to the single women in teaching skill and in personality. McCall, in his study of teacher merit in North Carolina, concluded that married women teachers were slightly superior.<sup>12</sup> The general consensus of those who have studied the problem most closely is that factors other than marital status determine the efficiency of teachers. Hence school boards

<sup>11</sup> David W. Peters, *The Status of the Married Woman Teacher*, Contributions to Education, No. 603 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934), p. 70.

<sup>12</sup> William A. McCall, *Measurement of Teacher Merit*, Publication No. 284 (Raleigh, N.C.: State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1952), p. 31.

and administrators would be wise to select teachers on the basis of merit and merit alone.

The task of the board of education in a teacher selection program is of primary importance. It consists of developing and adopting policies that promise to ensure the employment of a qualified staff of teachers. The specific actions which the board of education should take relating to the qualifications of applicants are:

1. Prepare, with the cooperation of the superintendent of schools, members of the teaching staff, and representative lay citizens, qualities and competencies which the school system wants its teacher to possess.

2. Establish minimum preparation requirements for eligibility to teach in the local school system.

3. Clarify and revise, if necessary, existing regulations regarding teaching experience as a prerequisite to appointment.

4. Determine a sound policy with respect to the appointment of local residents to teaching positions.

5. Develop a clear statement of policy on the employment of married women teachers.

Beyond the establishment of such policies as those mentioned above, the board of education, with the superintendent of schools, should work out a plan of action for discovering and securing teachers who fit the specifications. The superintendent and those associated with him in administering the schools should carry out the procedures, but the board of education should play an important role in deciding what the major elements in the plan are to be.

## SELECTION PROCEDURES AND APPRAISAL DEVICES

### STUDY OF STAFF RESOURCES

Once the superintendent of schools has been given the green light to move ahead with the selection program, he will find it helpful, as a preliminary step, to make an analysis of existing staff resources. Teaching staffs are often poorly balanced when viewed in terms of age, sex, cultural background, professional preparation, and special skills such as playing the piano, coaching sports, and working with tools. In order to acquire the best possible staff, a long-term program of selection must be envisaged and planned. The

collection and interpretation of personnel information is obviously an essential step in deciding what the needs really are—beyond the mere filling of the vacancy. If these facts are kept up to date, it will be relatively easy to see their significance for any given appointment. The use of a modern personnel folder will facilitate the recording of pertinent data.<sup>12</sup> With adequate information on file, the superintendent of schools can make an analysis which will show the distribution of teachers by states and regions, by sex, and by teacher preparatory institutions, he can assess the work experiences of his staff as well as their prior teaching experience; he can study the distribution of his teachers by ages—in short, he can gain knowledge and insight which will enable him over the years to fill in the resource gaps in the present staff.

#### STAFF PARTICIPATION IN THE SELECTION PROCESS

As was stated earlier, the responsibility for teacher selection should be placed squarely on the shoulders of the superintendent of schools and should not be assumed by school board members. Their job is to make sure that sound policies and procedures are being followed and that a thorough effort is being made to find the best talent available. Although the superintendent will need to assume general supervision and responsibility for teacher selection, he cannot do the whole job alone. Not only is it a time-consuming task, but it presupposes more wisdom than most administrators possess. Modern school systems are more and more involving several representatives of the professional staff in the selection process. Principals especially are encouraged to participate both in the discovery of qualified candidates and in the appraisal of their credentials. It is a generally recognized fact that a principal who shares in the responsibility of selecting the members of his staff (as vacancies arise) has a greater interest in the success of the candidates chosen than the principal who is not consulted or who, if consulted, had little real part in the final choice. Although a hard and fast rule cannot safely be laid down for all school systems, there is much to be said in support of a selection committee consisting of the superintendent of schools as chairman, the principal of the school where the vacancy exists, a

<sup>12</sup> See Willard S. Elsbree and Daniel R. Davies, *Instructional Personnel Record* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1945.)

supervisor of the general subject-area where the teacher will probably be assigned (such as elementary, art, physical education, music), a classroom teacher (one acquainted with the particular grade or subject matter area for which the candidate is applying), and the school psychologist or guidance director. Such a committee, even though it would probably be unable to interview all candidates or observe them at work, could play an important role both in the screening of applicants and in their final selection. It would be wise for the board of education to recognize officially the establishment of such a committee. If the superintendent should on occasion differ with the committee in their choice of a candidate, this fact could be brought before the board of education, and the latter could make its decision after full consideration of the arguments pro and con. In a democratically administered school system the superintendent of schools must expect to have some of his recommendations rejected, and he must accept the rejections with good grace. Where wise leadership obtains, the frequency and seriousness of such differences of opinion will not be great.

#### NEED FOR EXTENSIVE SEARCH

Whoever is given the responsibility for teacher selection, whether it be the superintendent alone or the superintendent assisted by a committee of staff members, it is highly essential that a thorough search be made for qualified persons to fill vacancies. This will obviously require that the superintendent of schools or some one designated by him be away from the office or classroom for extended trips to observe and interview candidates. Close personal contacts should be established with the directors of placement bureaus in several teachers colleges and universities, preferably widely scattered throughout the United States. This procedure is consistent with practices obtaining in industry and in other enterprises wherever top quality is vital. In the entertainment field there are no geographical limits set when scouting for talent. It is equally logical to travel far and wide to find teachers. There are cultural differences related to geography which have significance for education. A wide variety of backgrounds makes for a richer program of instruction than that which results when local or even regional candidates constitute the sole source of supply. The school system that has teachers

who have been thoroughly exposed to the habits and traditions of the natives of New England, the deep South, the Northwest, and of states like Utah and sections of Pennsylvania where distinctive patterns of life are identifiable, have resources which surpass those found in the staffs employed in the typical school system. Despite the leveling-off process which has, to some degree, accompanied improved transportation and communication facilities, there are still *many different folkways in the United States with which children should become acquainted*. In fact, these folkways are an important part of the American heritage. Moreover, a staff of teachers which has among its members the wide representation implied above should profit greatly from the exchange of viewpoints that results when teachers from many geographical areas work together. This same point of view was expressed in an editorial entitled, "Ban on Outside Teachers." The editorial dramatically deplores the New York City tendency to limit itself almost exclusively to home talent:

The City seeks the best artichokes and potatoes, whether from Long Island or California. Can it afford to exclude good teachers from beyond its borders? It may not be quite as urgent, but it is just as important to fill the mind as well as the stomach with the best provender available.

New York profits greatly by drawing good comedians, ballplayers, musicians, artists, engineers, bankers from beyond the Bronx and the Hudson. We would not do without these. Why bar outside schoolteachers? <sup>14</sup>

#### FURNISHING INFORMATION TO PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATES

Any program of teacher selection along the lines just indicated will be greatly facilitated if prospective candidates are furnished adequate information about the school system before being interviewed. An attractive folder, if well conceived, will serve both to heighten the interest of the applicant in the vacancy and to answer many of the questions about the school system which nearly always arise in the mind of the typical candidate.

Although the present pamphlets designed for applicants vary considerably in format, the contents usually are quite similar. They are likely to include a brief description of the community seeking teachers and statements covering the philosophy of education of the school system, the qualifications required for teaching, the salary

<sup>14</sup> *New York World Telegram*, "Ban on Outside Teachers," New York, July 15, 1936.

schedule, the school calendar, absence regulations, the work and organization of the local teachers' association, living accommodations, and recreational opportunities.<sup>15</sup>

These publications can be placed in the hands of placement directors and distributed to the more promising registrants. When salary levels are reasonably attractive, these descriptive bulletins are almost certain to arouse the interest of several promising prospects.

#### TRAVEL BUDGET IMPLICATIONS

No one, as far as the authors know, has computed the average cost of selecting a teacher. It would undoubtedly vary from city to city, depending upon many factors. It is certain, however, that few if any school systems spend anything like the amount which is deemed necessary to find a professional ballplayer or a talented musician or theatrical artist. If one were to omit the cost represented by the time given to teacher selection by the superintendent of schools, it seems doubtful if many districts spend more than \$50 per appointee. Since the typical appointment of a teacher in many city school systems represents a long-term investment of at least \$100,000, it would seem quite justifiable to spend considerably more than \$50 per teacher to safeguard the interests of the taxpayer. Travel budgets should be expanded to enable administrators to run down promising leads and to ensure the variety of resources that is essential for developing and maintaining a superior teaching staff. Here is a clear illustration of where selection procedures are conditioned by board policy.

If the above proposal were carried out, some planning and, in many instances, additional staff would be necessary to enable the superintendent of schools to fulfill his responsibilities adequately. Selection isn't a small assignment which the superintendent can carry out by putting in extra hours on top of regular duties. It necessitates being out of the office for extended trips; it implies face-to-face contacts with candidates, and it demands personal consideration of the many details involved in the appraisal of the applicants' qualifications.

<sup>15</sup> For an excellent bulletin see *And Gladly Teach in Great Neck* (Great Neck, N.Y.: Board of Education).

## APPRAISAL OF CANDIDATES' CREDENTIALS

For many years students of personnel management have been stressing the need for gathering every type of evidence relating to the candidate's qualifications and for checking and double-checking his credentials. Letters of recommendation are almost universally consulted in selecting teachers. Yet their predictive value has been found to be exceedingly low. In fact, any attempt to base future teaching success on typical testimonials is almost certain to prove disappointing. Superintendents of schools, school principals, heads of departments, college and university professors, and others who write letters of recommendation for teachers are prone to emphasize the positive and to give everybody a good send-off. The tendency to let the other fellow find out the weaknesses and limitations of teachers is so nearly universal that it is unsafe for any employer to assume that the candidate's papers will reveal anything of a negative character. One is reminded of that model letter of recommendation for a person with whom you are unacquainted, attributed to Benjamin Franklin. It ran as follows:

Paris, April 2, 1777

Sir: The bearer of this, who is going to America, presses me to give him a letter of recommendation, though I know nothing of him, not even his name. This may seem extraordinary, but I assure you it is not uncommon here. Sometimes, indeed, one unknown person brings another equally unknown, to recommend him; and sometimes they recommend one another! As to this gentleman, I must refer you to himself for his character and merits, with which he is certainly better acquainted than I can possibly be. I recommend him, however, to those civilities which every stranger, of whom one knows no harm, has a right to; and I request you will do him all the favor that, on further acquaintance, you shall find him to deserve.

bility. They apparently hope to learn something about the candidate's philosophy of life and his aspirations through such a device. It is recommended that the sketch be structured, at least to the extent of focussing the candidate's attention on major questions such as:

1. Discuss the development of your interest in teaching.
2. Describe your extracurricular or nonprofessional interests.
3. Give some picture of the kind of person you consider yourself to be.
4. How do you stand physical strain?<sup>16</sup>

Just how much insight superintendents of schools will gain about a candidate's qualifications from examination of data found in biographical sketches remains to be discovered.

#### ROLE OF PERSONALITY TESTS

Thus far few if any school systems have found it practical to give candidates the Rorschach or other tests designed to measure emotional stability. There are several obstacles to giving candidates the Rorschach test. In the first place, the cost is substantial, since it takes a trained specialist to give it and to interpret the results, and it requires several hours to administer it.<sup>17</sup> A second problem, which, during a period of heavy demand and light supply, is even more serious than cost, is the unwillingness of candidates to be subjected to this type of testing experience. Unless school systems generally were to require the Rorschach or some comparable test as a condition of appointment, there would be a dearth of applicants for positions in the few school systems that had made such tests a part of their selection program.

On the other hand, it would be a mistake to conclude from the current tendency to stay clear of personality tests that they offer no promise for the future. More and more school administrators and school boards are reaching out for some assurance of emotional stability on the part of candidates for teaching positions, and the day may not be far distant when a satisfactory score on a personality test may be a routine requirement for appointment to a public school teaching position. It is interesting to note that an important com-

mittee, appointed recently by the Metropolitan School Study Council to study teacher selection, specifically recommended the use of the Rorschach in selecting teachers.<sup>18</sup> However, so long as the supply of teachers continues to be inadequate to meet current demands, the requirement of personality tests will probably not be practical.

#### NATURE AND ADVANTAGES OF PERSONAL INTERVIEW

Nearly all school systems employ the personal interview as a technique of appraisal in the selection of personnel, and the superintendent of schools, except in very large cities, almost always plays an important role in conducting these interviews. He is frequently assisted in this task by representative principals, supervisors, and representative members of the teaching staff.

The purposes to be achieved through the interview seem to vary somewhat in the minds of administrators, although there are a few common aims upon which a large percentage of superintendents are in agreement.<sup>19</sup>

The major purposes of the interview seem to be to provide opportunity:

1. to make a general appraisal of the candidate's personality.
2. to gain some insight into the candidate's educational philosophy and professional outlook.
3. to evaluate the candidate's voice and physical characteristics.
4. to learn of the candidate's ambitions and plans for the future.
5. to get information on the candidate's education and experience.

Apparently very few superintendents use the interview as a means of examining the candidate on the subject matter he expects to teach, or the specific instructional methods he intends to use.

There is undoubtedly a tendency for many school administrators to view the interview experience too narrowly and to assume that it is largely a matter of extracting information from the candidate. But a good interview should consist of giving as well as securing information. Not only does the school system need to know what qualifications the candidate possesses, but the candidate needs equally as

<sup>18</sup>Metropolitan School Study Council, *Teacher Selection*, MSSC, 525 West 120th St., New York City, March 23, 1950, p. 20.

<sup>19</sup>*Teacher Personnel Practices, 1950-1951: Appointment and Termination of Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, February, 1952), p. 18.

much to know the answers to many questions about the job and the school system. Otherwise he cannot wisely decide whether or not he will be happy and successful in the job. Moreover, a good interview should serve to establish a friendly relationship between the school system and the candidate. An interview procedure over the years in a city school system touches the lives of many young people and creates many favorable or unfavorable impressions. From the standpoint of public relations then, a well-conducted interview will make numerous friends for a school system.

#### TYPE OF INTERVIEW

There are many schools of thought regarding the type of oral interview which seems most likely to achieve the major objectives sought. A few superintendents favor the unplanned or unstructured



"We've contacted your character references, Mr. Wilson, and they agreed that you definitely are one."

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interview, relying largely on their ability to judge the candidate's personality by certain physical manifestations or mannerisms such as shifting eyes, hesitation in response, leaning backward or forward in the chair, use of hands, raising eyebrows, smiling, frowning, etc. Occasionally, an administrator will assert that he can tell almost immediately upon meeting the candidate whether or not the latter has the essential qualifications. This approach reminds one of Thomas Browne's lines on Dr. Fell:

I do not love thee, Dr. Fell  
The reason why I cannot tell  
But this alone I know full well  
I do not love thee Dr. Fell.

There is an old saying—"You can't tell by looking at a frog how far he can jump." Although some superintendents and principals are unquestionably gifted in making quick "size-ups" of candidates, there is little evidence to support the unplanned interview as a sound means of selecting high quality personnel.

#### THE NONDIRECTIVE INTERVIEW

Somewhat related to the unstructured type of interview just discussed is the so-called nondirective interview. The chief feature of the latter is that it consists of a conversational type of listening accompanied by little if any direction. The candidate is encouraged to talk and the interviewer listens, never argues, doesn't change the subject, uses questions sparingly, allows pauses to occur in the conversation, and phrases his own responses briefly. Some typical responses of the interviewer to applicants' statements are:

"Tell me more."

"That's interesting."

"What happened then?"

"H-hm!"

When this type of interview is conducted by a skillful interviewer, one who has a thorough knowledge of psychology and is therefore able to interpret wisely the significance of the candidate's behavior and comments, then it can be employed to accomplish the purposes for which the interview is designed. It is especially efficient in re-

vealing personality traits. However, in the hands of an untrained interviewer, it is likely to prove disappointing.

#### THE PLANNED INTERVIEW

Probably most school systems would do well to follow a middle course between a nondirective interview in which everything hinges on how the candidate feels and what he chooses to talk about, and the standardized or patterned interview where everything is laid out in black and white and nothing is left to chance. In the case of the latter type, questions are carefully prepared in advance, printed forms containing specific items to be covered are used, a uniform method of recording information and making judgments is followed, and prepared manuals that describe the interview procedure are placed in the hands of interviewers and are studied in advance. Since there is very little objective evidence to guide one in choosing the interview procedure which promises most for a school system, it is necessary to apply common sense and rely upon the judgment of the interviewers to adapt their procedures to meet the situations which confront them. If a committee comprising the superintendent, principal, supervisor, classroom teacher of same grade or subject, and a member of the guidance staff, or some similarly constituted committee does the interviewing, then the patterned type of interview, consisting of uniform questions and a well-defined procedure for recording the individual evaluations of the committee, can, with some variations, be employed advantageously. But it must be remembered that many school systems are not large enough to have on their staffs all the officers and specialists represented in the selection committee just described, and it is probable that in many systems the supervising principal will continue to have the sole responsibility for conducting the interview. He will need to plan his interviews carefully, and he should use some profile method of comparing the qualifications of candidates.<sup>20</sup> But he need not slavishly follow any standardized plan. It is obvious that individual differences in the backgrounds of candidates will be apparent from reading the application blanks and letters of recommendation already on file. Failure

<sup>20</sup> See National Committee on Teacher Examinations, "Comparing the Qualifications of Teachers," *Teacher Selection Papers and Reports*, No. 11 (Philadelphia, June 10, 1947).

to build questions, around information gleaned from these sources would appear to be inefficient. Hence, standardized interviews have their limitations and, when narrowly interpreted, cannot be defended.

#### THE ELEMENTS OF A GOOD INTERVIEW SITUATION

Regardless of who does the interviewing and what type of interview plan is selected, there are several features that characterize a good interview situation. These should be observed. Chief among them are the following:

1. *The interview should be private and free from interruptions.* The physical surroundings should be favorable, comfortable chairs should be so placed as to give neither interviewers nor candidate too dominant a position. The interview is not a third degree, therefore the environment should be conducive to bringing out the best, not the worst, in the candidate.

2. *The candidate should be put at ease in a natural manner.* In other words, he should be received like any other visitor and made to feel at home.

3. *The interviewer (or interviewers) should follow a well-conceived plan, including a basic framework for securing the information and for judging its significance once it has been obtained.*

4. *Enough time should be provided for each interview to ensure adequate coverage of items included in the interview plan.* This should seldom be less than half an hour.

5. *The interviewer should give the candidate enough information about the vacancy and the school system to enable the candidate to ask pertinent questions.* Unless the candidate is sufficiently informed about the nature of the vacancy to be filled and the expectations of the administration regarding the requirements of the job, he will be poorly equipped to ask questions and to decide whether or not he is interested in being appointed.

6. *An ample opportunity should be provided for an exchange of ideas between interviewer and candidate.* Some interviewers refrain from expressing an opinion and do not participate in a discussion of issues. This approach makes for artificiality.

7. *The interviewer asks many open-ended questions such as:*  
 "Tell me about. . . ."

"How did you feel . . . ?"

Open-ended questions permit the interviewer to draw out the candidate to a greater degree than specific questions calling for brief answers. Interests, attitudes, and emotional reactions are often discovered through answers to open-ended questions.

8. *The interviewer doesn't mislead the candidate into thinking he is hired before a definite decision has actually been reached.* Many a candidate has left an interview feeling certain he had the job sewed up. Sometimes this is due to his own inability to size up situations, but frequently it is due to the failure of the interviewer to make clear that no decision has been reached. This doesn't require abrupt statements of a negative character, but the interviewer should be careful not to convey a false notion of how the situation stands.

9. *The interviewer respects the personality of the candidate and makes the experience a constructive one.* There are cases on record where candidates have reported that an interview experience was most humiliating, where they were asked to stand facing a wall while an examiner compensated for his own sense of inferiority by interrogating them with questions that he knew couldn't be answered.

Fortunately, the typical school administrator possesses a sense of fairness and would never be guilty of using such tactics. But there hasn't been sufficient emphasis given to the principle that an interview can and should be an educational experience of a constructive nature. A candidate should leave an interview with his self-respect unimpaired and with the feeling that his treatment at the hands of the examining committee had been considerate and fair.

#### OBSERVATION OF CANDIDATE ON THE JOB

According to a study made by the Research Division of the National Education Association in 1951, 59 per cent of 1,615 city school systems reported that in selecting teachers they regularly followed the practice of observing the classroom work of the applicant.<sup>21</sup> This appears to be a debatable requirement, otherwise a significantly larger proportion of cities would report adherence to it. It is certain that, if the candidate's performance could be observed

<sup>21</sup> *Teacher Personnel Practices, 1950-1951: Appointment and Termination of Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, February, 1952), p. 17.

under typical conditions, much could be learned as to his fitness for the vacancy under consideration. Even if the classroom performance were atypical, it seems almost certain that something of value to a trained observer could be gleaned from the experience. But a requirement to the effect that every candidate must be observed on the job will almost certainly result in the restriction of the search for new teachers to nearby communities and institutions. This is opposed to the principle discussed earlier that a wide geographical search is essential if a cosmopolitan staff of teachers is to be employed. Moreover, many candidates have had no formal teaching experience except that which is required as a part of their college preparation. To observe the performance of these individuals, it would be essential either to arrange a special teaching situation in the school system where they are applying for a position, or to visit them while they are doing their practice teaching before leaving the teacher preparatory institution. In other words, even though most educators will probably agree with the advantages to be gained through observation of the candidate's teaching, many of them will concede that it isn't always feasible to make it a required part of the selection procedure. A policy that places upon the administration the responsibility for observing the performance of candidates *when this is feasible* is about as definitive as it should be if the best interests of the school system are to be safeguarded.

#### WRITTEN EXAMINATIONS

Written examinations are quite commonly used in large city school systems in assessing the qualifications of applicants. They are seldom included among the selection procedures employed in cities of less than 100,000 population. The most widely used tests are the National Teachers Examinations, which are prepared and administered by the Educational Testing Service of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. These examinations have been the subject of considerable discussion among educators. Those who favor the use of the National Teachers Examinations contend that holding a college degree and/or a state teaching certificate is no longer, if it ever was, evidence that the applicant is proficient in anything. Institutional standards and programs of study vary widely. As for state certification, it represents at best a minimum of competence and is based

largely on number and kind of college credits earned. Hence, they argue, the only sound way for a city school system to screen its candidates is to give them objective examinations covering whatever areas or subject fields the applicant expects to teach. Proponents of the written examination point out that this procedure need be only one phase of the selection program, that examinations can be objectively scored, and that the local school administration can establish the passing point anywhere it wishes. Moreover, in cities where political pressures to appoint local residents to teaching posts constitute a threat to teacher selection, the use of the National Teacher Examinations provides a happy way out of a dilemma. Advocates of the examinations, approach to teacher selection also stress the point that the practice is consistent with modern civil service procedures.

Those who oppose the use of written examinations locally say first of all that they are no longer needed, that the evaluations made by accredited colleges and universities afford all the protection necessary. They also maintain that reliance upon the examination will inevitably have a restrictive effect upon the curricula of teacher preparatory institutions, which is perhaps a stronger argument. Those who object to the extension of a standardized written examination point out that, as soon as college authorities realize that their students are to be examined in certain specialized areas, there will be a revision of college programs to assist students in meeting this requirement. The long-term effects of such a trend are deemed to be bad.

If one can judge the future use of written examinations by past trends, the probability of their marked extension as one phase of the process of selecting teachers seems unlikely. In 1931, they were required by 3.1 per cent of the cities reporting to the Research Division of the N.E.A.; in 1941 by 4.4 per cent; and in 1951 by 3.2 per cent.<sup>22</sup> That they will continue, however, to constitute an important part of the selective procedure in large city school systems appears probable.

#### MEDICAL EXAMINATION

Physical fitness should constitute an important consideration in the selection of teachers. In order to be reasonably certain that can-

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

didates for positions are free of disease and physically able to meet the stresses and strains inherent in teaching, a medical examination should be required. The examination should preferably be made by a physician employed or approved by the board of education. The physician should be asked to submit a report of the candidate's physical and mental fitness.

#### NO SUBSTITUTE FOR GOOD JUDGMENT

Whatever the procedures used in the selection of teachers, there is no substitute for wisdom on the part of the superintendent of schools if good results are to be obtained. Paper qualifications, oral and written examinations, observation of the candidate on the job and conversations with former employers regarding personality traits are worth little unless the superintendent can evaluate the relation of these facts to future success in the local school system. He must have the ability to assess everything he hears, sees, and reads about the candidate. Otherwise his nominations to the board of education are likely to prove disappointing.

In conclusion, the procedures which a school system should employ in trying to find gifted teachers are many and varied. If the best results are to be obtained, the most essential steps are:

1. To make detailed studies of the resources of present staff periodically in order to discover what the school system most needs; consideration can then be given to resource gaps in appointing new teachers.
2. To make a wide search for candidates. This implies working in close cooperation with placement directors and superintendents of schools scattered widely throughout the United States. It means extensive travel, an increased budget for teacher selection, and the preparation and publication of an information bulletin for prospective candidates.
3. To gather as much information on the candidate and his background as is reasonably possible and to check and double check the applicant's credentials. The chief written sources of information to study are the candidate's letters of recommendation, the application form, and a biographical sketch prepared by the candidate. The oral interview, if well planned and conducted, will reveal strengths and weaknesses that are not likely to appear in the writ-

names of qualified superintendents were suggested. The Northport Board of Education then studied the credentials of the candidates and classified them. Stars were placed in front of certain names on the list to indicate the relative merits of the candidates, five stars representing those whom the board deemed to be the best qualified, fewer stars indicating those whose qualifications seemed good though not outstanding, and the absence of a star showing that in the minds of the board the credentials submitted did not show adequate fitness for the vacancy in question. Before any final screening was done, the board of education referred the classified list to the consultants, who assisted in reducing the number of candidates from fifty-five to thirteen. Nine of the remaining candidates were then interviewed (those who showed interest in the position). The interviews enabled the board to reduce the number of candidates from nine to two. A committee of the board then visited the two school systems where the two remaining candidates were employed and gathered further impressions. They then returned home and reported their findings to the whole board, and a choice was made.

In assessing the fitness of candidates, constant reference was made to the problems uncovered in the survey referred to earlier, and the candidates' qualifications were measured as far as possible against the specific needs of the Northport School System.

Although the foregoing procedure is somewhat unique, other boards of education have sought the cooperation of graduate institutions of education in selecting a superintendent of schools and have employed a screening process similar to that used in Northport. The unusual feature in the Northport procedure was the "problems survey." This step might well be taken as a preliminary one to the whole process of selecting administrators. Not only did it serve to highlight the major school problems and reveal public attitude, but it enlisted the participation of key citizens and staff in the selection procedure. Since the qualifications of a superintendent of schools spell success or failure in working with the teaching staff and the lay public, it is highly important that their reactions be obtained. This is not to suggest that the board delegate any of its unique functions, but rather that it seek the counsel and advice of those who have an important stake in the final selection.

Although admittedly almost any procedure used in the selection of a superintendent of schools rests finally upon the judgments of

school board members, the thoroughness of a process such as that employed by Northport assures considerable protection.

Serious consideration should always be given to local candidates, since promotion from within the ranks is usually preferable when qualifications comparable to those possessed by outside candidates are assured. Seldom, however, is a board of education justified in limiting its consideration to local candidates. The welfare of children demands that the best man be chosen wherever he may reside.

#### FINDING THE RIGHT PRINCIPAL

School systems have followed no uniform pattern in the selection of principals. In some of the larger cities an examination procedure has been used involving both written and oral questions, and, in a few situations, performance tests have been included as one step in the process. For the most part, the superintendent of schools looks over the crop of local aspirants and, if he finds a promising candidate, elevates him to the post. The chief source of supply has consistently been local teachers. In the past, high school men teachers have been given preference in filling both elementary and secondary school vacancies. Recently, certification authorities in several states have made teaching experience in the elementary school a prerequisite for eligibility for elementary school principalship positions. This ensures some association with elementary school children and familiarity with early childhood problems.

Certainly some teaching experience in the division of the school system in which the principalship vacancy exists, whether elementary, junior high, or senior high, is a reasonable requirement. There is also a growing tendency for graduate schools preparing school administrators to arrange internships for their students. If this policy becomes generally accepted, and it seems probable that it will, certification authorities may well require evidence of successful internship of all future applicants for principalship posts.

Most supervising elementary principals today hold a master's degree and a substantial number have earned the doctorate. A requirement of one year of study beyond the master's degree with a major in the appropriate field of specialization might well be established by most boards of education as a minimum standard. In view of the marked improvement in the training of classroom teachers,

there can be no excuse for low standards of preparation for principals.

Because of the leadership responsibilities delegated to school principals, the matter of personal qualifications is of utmost importance. A study made by the Department of Elementary School Principals of the National Education Association revealed five qualities that 350 school superintendents believed to be extremely important for principals to possess. These were, in order of frequency:

1. Ability to get along with people.
2. Personality.
3. Leadership.
4. Organizing and executive ability.
5. Tact and diplomacy.

Other important characteristics indicated by superintendents were good judgment and common sense; professional attitude; interest in, liking for, and understanding of children; ability to teach; character; appearance; poise and emotional stability; and social adjustment.<sup>23</sup>

Some communities give preference to men applicants in filling principalship vacancies. This restriction seems quite unjustified and cannot help but constitute a deterrent to the morale of women teachers. Any promotional system or scheme which bars from consideration, either by regulation or practice, 80 per cent of the teaching staff on the basis of sex is shortsighted and undemocratic. Such arbitrary barriers should be scrapped in favor of a merit system of promotion which is open to all.

As was emphasized in the discussion of teacher selection, the board's first responsibility is to determine the qualifications they want principals to possess. In the process of setting up these qualifications, the superintendent of schools, school principals, teaching staff and representative parents should all be consulted and their ideas given full consideration. The Bronxville, New York, Public School System has recently pursued a very enlightened procedure in filling an elementary school vacancy. First of all, they invited the retiring principal to meet with them and the superintendent to discuss the job as she viewed it. Then the board met with a com-

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ing environment; as clarifying the individual's part in cooperative group enterprises; and as building effectively such skills and learnings as are necessary or desirable at each point. A curriculum thus conceived is never static. It requires frequent and varied evaluation and readjustment by all concerned.<sup>24</sup>

The Bronxville Board of Education appropriated \$3,000 and employed a consultant to assist in locating promising candidates and in assessing their qualifications for this position.

One important step in selecting principals is the personal interview. In some school systems the superintendent, accompanied by several principals and the assistant superintendent of schools in charge of the division where the vacancy exists, conducts a rather thorough oral interview, and, together they reach conclusions about the fitness of the candidate. This is sometimes followed by a personal visit by the superintendent and one or more principals to the school and the community where the candidate is employed, to see him in action and inquire of his colleagues and fellow citizens as to his success.

As is the case with teacher selection, there is no substitute for a thorough search. This requires time and an adequate budgetary appropriation. The returns on this investment are likely to be large since the *sine qua non* of a good school is capable leadership.

#### SELECTION OF SUPERVISORS AND DIRECTORS

A similar procedure should be employed in the selection of supervisors and directors. Although the community may be less interested and concerned about supervisors than they appear to be about principals, the cooperation of parents and teaching staff should be enlisted in the selection of all members of the supervisory staff. A job analysis should always precede the search for talent, and the requirements of the job should be clearly delineated. Such a step will clarify considerably the type of person needed to fill the vacancy.

One of the tests which should be applied to candidates for both principalships and supervisory posts in the central office is evidence of ability to work cooperatively with teachers and to exercise dynamic leadership. Educational qualifications, as represented by de-

<sup>24</sup> The Bronxville Public School, A Message From The Board of Education (Bronxville, N.Y.: June 5, 1953).

grees held, are no substitute for the ability to work with people. When supervisors fail it is usually because of a lack of adeptness in getting along with teachers, rather than from a lack of knowledge of the subject area or the methods most appropriate for achieving good results. Candidates for supervisory positions should be observed in social situations and in conferences and meetings, and their popularity with former teaching groups should be ascertained.

In conclusion, the selection of administrators and supervisors is a time-consuming process if excellent results are to be obtained. There are no short cuts or simple formulas for finding the right person, and no substitutes have been found for a thorough search covering a wide area and involving the cooperation of staff, parents, and placement officers in educational institutions. In view of the importance of leadership in a school system, boards of education should appropriate adequate funds and establish sound selection procedures for filling all supervisory and administrative positions.

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## 4 ASSIGNMENT, LOAD, AND TRANSFER

### TEACHER ASSIGNMENT

When a teacher signs a contract with a board of education he may or may not have agreed to teach a specific grade or designated subject matter area. In most cases the assignment is stated in general terms, such as "to teach in the elementary school" or "to teach English in the high school," rather than in specific legal terms. Seldom is a particular building unit or grade mentioned in a contract. The reason given by many boards of education for this failure to set forth the assignment in black and white is that they do not deem it feasible to decide this matter at the time when most new teachers are employed. In city school systems, where the number of turnover cases is large, teachers are sometimes hired before the vacancies have been officially declared open. Usually the newly employed teacher is advised of his probable assignment by the superintendent of schools at the time he signs the contract, and hence misunderstandings are fewer than might be expected from the indefinite statements contained in most contracts.

Both the teachers' and the pupils' interests are also protected, to some degree, by certification regulations against unreasonable assignment. In most states the subjects or grade levels which teachers are certified to teach are stipulated on the face of the certificate, and the local school system must adhere to the requirements or run the risk of having its state-aid funds withheld.

The major considerations in teacher assignment are closely related to the philosophy and procedures employed in selection and orientation. If the personnel resources of the school system have been carefully analyzed, candidates will be selected to fill known gaps and their assignment will be governed by their peculiar qualifications to meet the demands of the job. Certainly this is a sound general principle to follow.

Sometimes in making assignments sufficient attention is not given to the wishes and interests of the teacher concerned. Most teaching positions have unique characteristics that condition a newly appointed teacher's attitudes toward assignment. It may be the character of the neighborhood in which the school is located, the temperament of the principal, the reputation of the pupils, or some other factor which stands out favorably or unfavorably in the teacher's



## COOPERATIVE STUDIES OF TEACHER LOAD

In reaching a decision regarding teacher load assignments, the school administrator will need to study the local situation thoroughly and to draw upon the thinking of representative members of the professional staff. A few communities have made detailed analyses of the load problem and have found the information useful in determining assignment policies and in reaching decisions regarding compensation. Teachers have joined with the administration in several of these undertakings. Among the more ambitious efforts have been those made in Long Beach and San Diego, California, and one made under the auspices of the Philadelphia Suburban School Study Council with nine school districts participating. These studies sought, through carefully worded questionnaires addressed to teachers, to discover how much time was being spent per week in teaching and other regular assigned duties. For the "typical week," Long Beach teachers reported a median of 39½ hours, San Diego reported 40 hours, and the Philadelphia Suburban Districts reported 40 hours.<sup>1</sup> In all these studies there were marked variations among teachers of all grades and subjects in number of hours devoted to their work. According to the Long Beach findings, senior high school teachers at the tenth decile spent 32½ hours per week and those at the ninth decile devoted 51½ per week to their duties. Moreover, judging by the San Diego and Long Beach studies, significant differences in load appear between departments in the secondary schools. These variations do not necessarily imply that the assignment policies need revision. There are marked individual differences among teachers which cannot and should not be discouraged or eradicated through any administrative arrangement.

The potential benefits to be derived from a cooperative study of load are many. In the first place, such an investigation should make it easier to establish a policy defining the minimum number of hours per week that teachers should devote to their teaching responsibilities. One of the recommendations contained in the Philadelphia

<sup>1</sup> A questionnaire study conducted by the Research Division of the National Education Association for 1950 reported an average work week of approximately 48 hours for both elementary and secondary school teachers. See *Teaching Load in 1950*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, February 1951).

Suburban Council report was as follows: "It seems reasonable to expect teachers to spend approximately forty hours per week on various types of work, all of which are a part of teaching."<sup>2</sup>

The definition of a reasonable load, of course, will not prevent ambitious teachers from devoting more than the prescribed number of hours per week to the job, but it will provide teachers, administrators, the board of education, and the public with a clear statement of policy.

A second outcome might well be an attempt to *define the job* or the responsibilities of teachers. Here again the work of the Philadelphia Suburban Council Committee is illustrative. The report of the Elementary Subcommittee sets forth the job of the teacher in the elementary school as:

1. *Teaching Pupils in Assigned Grades:*

- a. Guiding group and individual learning activities
- b. Preparation through reading, planning, securing films and other materials, duplicating, arranging trips, checking and evaluating written work, etc.
- c. Administering, scoring (unless machine scored) and interpreting tests. Planning and carrying out work related to results
- d. Continual study of growth and development of each pupil; planning for necessary individual guidance including that of specialists available in the school system and in the community
- e. Keeping record of each pupil's growth; consulting with parents regarding the pupil's progress through written reports, telephone calls, and personal conferences

2. *Participating in the Whole School Program:*

- a. Attending faculty meetings
- b. Serving on committees
- c. Taking part in development of school curriculum
- d. Meeting with other members of staff to plan and evaluate work (grade groups, teachers of special subjects, supervisors, etc.)
- e. Attending parent-teacher meetings
- f. Assisting with school programs and activities which contribute to learning, such as Christmas, May Day programs, welfare drives, exhibits, etc.
- g. Supervising playground, bus, lunchroom
- h. Evaluating and recommending for purchase, books, films, and other equipment

<sup>2</sup> Educational Service Bureau, *A Study of Teacher Load* (Philadelphia, Pa.: School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, 1952), p. 2.

TABLE 3

REVISED DOUGLASS FORMULA FOR MEASURING TEACHING LOAD

$$TL = SGC \left[ CP - \frac{\text{Dup.}}{10} + \frac{(NP - 25CP)}{100} \right] \left[ \frac{PL + 50}{100} \right] + [.6PC] \left[ \frac{PL + 50}{100} \right]$$

TL	units of teaching load per week.
SGC	subject grade coefficient—given in table below.
CP	class periods spent in classroom per week.
Dup.	number of class periods spent per week, in classroom, teaching classes for which the preparation is very similar to that for some other section, not including the original section.
NP	number of pupils in classes per week. (The 25 is used as a norm.)
PC	number of minutes spent per week in supervision of the study hall, student activities, teachers' meetings, or other related co-operations, divided by 84.
PL	gross length in minutes of class period. (The 50 represents approximately the average period length.)

*Subject Grade Coefficient*

Subject	Grade level		
	7-8	9	10-11-12
English	1.0	1.1	1.1
Art	1.0	.9	1.0
Home Economics	1.0	1.0	1.1
Music	.9	1.0	1.0
Mathematics	1.0	1.0	1.0
Agriculture			1.3
Industrial Arts	1.0	.9	1.0
Physical Education	.8	.9	.9
Health	.9	1.1	1.2
Commerce	1.0	1.0	1.0
Social Studies	1.0	1.1	1.1
Foreign Language	1.0	1.0	1.0
Science	1.0	1.1	1.1

Although there are certain subjective elements in the Douglass formula, as there are in other schemes for measuring teacher load, many secondary school principals have found it an extremely useful device in making out schedules. Individual teachers often believe that their load is unduly heavy but, when the formula is applied and they see that their load is no greater than that assigned to their colleagues, their resentment vanishes. Moreover, there is no question about the fact that the use of the formula tends to make the process of measuring load more objective and, hence, makes possible a higher degree of equalization.

## ROLE OF NATIONAL, REGIONAL, AND STATE AGENCIES

The gradual reduction in class size that has occurred over the last two decades did not come about by accident. Many agencies have been consciously working to achieve a more reasonable ratio of pupils to teacher than the ratio earlier in the century. The National Education Association deserves commendation for the studies of class size and teacher load which it has sponsored over the years and the recommendations bearing on the assignment of load which it has consistently made to local school systems. A specific proposal of the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards reveals its position:

Twenty-five pupils should be the maximum number enrolled in any class or grade taught by one teacher. The total number of pupil-class enrollments taught by a teacher of academic subjects in secondary or departmentalized schools should not exceed one hundred per day.<sup>6</sup>

The American Federation of Teachers has consistently stood for small classes and a reasonable teaching load.

The United States Office of Education has also shown interest in the teacher load situation and has published a series of pamphlets dealing with class size.<sup>7</sup>

Although the National Congress of Parents and Teachers has not focused its attention specifically on the question of class size, it has exercised a wholesome influence on public opinion with respect to teacher load. Its concern, quite properly, has been the welfare of the individual child. Large classes do not serve this end.

Perhaps the greatest influence exerted on teacher load springs from the work of regional accrediting agencies, particularly with respect to the load carried by secondary school teachers. Four of the five regional associations set teacher load standards in terms of periods taught per day, number of pupil-periods, or maximum number of pupils per class.<sup>8</sup> Superintendents, principals, and school

<sup>6</sup> *Teaching Load in 1950*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, February, 1951), p. 47.

<sup>7</sup> U.S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, *What Teachers Say about Class Size*, Circular No. 311 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949). Also *The Larger High School*, Circular No. 303, and *Large and Small Classes in Secondary Schools*, Circular No. 306.

<sup>8</sup> NEA Research Division, *Standards for Accreditation of Secondary Schools Set by Regional Accrediting Associations* (Washington, D.C., 1949) (mimeo.).

boards have been especially careful to keep their houses in order so far as secondary school standards are concerned, since communities are highly sensitive to criticism from regional agencies.

#### INTEREST OF STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS IN TEACHER LOAD

The matter of teacher load has become a growing concern of state teachers' associations and there are indications that efforts will be made, through state legislation, to set certain limits on the rights of local school boards to impose extra duties or to expand the length of the school day without providing corresponding increases in salary.

The Pennsylvania Education Association was instrumental in having the following bill introduced into the General Assembly to ensure extra pay to teachers for extra work. The specific provision was as follows: "Teachers who are required because of additional (work) assignments to devote more than the usual number of periods per day to their duties shall be entitled to (a fair) an increase in compensation (to be determined by the board of public education or the board of school directors) proportionate to the additional time served."<sup>9</sup>

#### LENGTH OF SCHOOL YEAR A CONSIDERATION

There has been a growing tendency over the last several decades to lengthen the school year. Since the average number of days teachers are required to teach annually in the 48 states is only approximately 175, it is understandable that some extension of the minimum school year is being urged in many states.<sup>10</sup> The question that is rapidly coming to the fore is, "What is the optimum length of a school year?" According to a report of the NEA Research Division, the median number of days in the school year in 1952, in 343 cities replying to a questionnaire, was 183.5. The primary concern of teachers has to do with extra compensation for days beyond the typical school year. Thus a bill was introduced in the Pennsylvania General Assembly to the effect that:

<sup>9</sup> House Bill No. 421, The General Assembly of Pennsylvania, Session of 1951, Section 1147.

<sup>10</sup> Educational Research Service, *Status of Year-Round School Programs: Length of School Year for Professional Employees in City School Systems*, Circular No. 7. (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1952).

The salary shall be for a minimum school term of one hundred eighty (180) days and employees who are required to serve more than the minimum school term shall receive an increase in compensation proportionate to the additional time served.<sup>11</sup>

No one can be sure at just what point the minimum school year should be stabilized, although it seems improbable that it will exceed 200 days. Teachers who are employed in districts where the existing calendar is considerably less than this are almost certain to object to any lengthening of the school year unless accompanied by proportionate increases in salary. In view of the reluctance of taxpayers to increase school budgets, the likelihood that the teacher's work year will expand significantly is remote.

#### WORK REGULATIONS

Because salaries have been pitifully low in many communities, married men teachers especially have had to seek additional work opportunities in order to balance their budgets. Where this practice is followed, it is a mixed blessing. It has often modified the attitude of the employed teacher toward extracurricular assignments and in some instances has led to a lowering of efficiency with respect to the basic program of the school. The problem applies chiefly to late afternoon, evening, and Saturday employment. School boards sometimes find it necessary to adopt regulations governing outside work. According to a study made by the NEA Research Division in 1951, 4 per cent of the city school systems required teachers to secure board approval in advance of accepting part-time employment and 3 per cent forbade all outside employment.<sup>12</sup> A typical regulation appears in the rules of a Wyoming Board of Education. It states: "No teacher under full-time employment by the Board of Trustees will engage in work for remuneration outside of the school during the entire term except with the approval of the Superintendent."

This provision at least places the matter under supervisory control and allows for some flexibility in administration. Since teaching

<sup>11</sup> Senate Bill No. 246, The General Assembly of Pennsylvania, Session of 1951, Section 1143.1.

<sup>12</sup> *Teacher Personnel Procedures, 1950-1951*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, April, 1952), pp. 41-42.

is a full-time job, children are likely to be deprived of their just desserts when major responsibilities outside the school program are assumed by teachers.

There is reason to believe that the next few years will witness a great struggle between economy-minded taxpayers and those who see in improved educational opportunities the real hope for advancing the nation's social and economic welfare. The expected pupil enrollments, which seem almost certain to exceed school building accommodations and to outdistance present arrangements for the recruitment and preparation of teachers, will constitute a serious obstacle to achieving further reductions in class size or, for that matter, in holding ground already gained. The only hope lies through a concerted effort on the part of friends of education everywhere to uphold standards and to refuse to yield to those who propose shortsighted economy measures.

### TRANSFER POLICIES

Since initial assignment of teachers is not always consistent with the best interests of the children enrolled, some policies need to be formulated and adopted governing the transfer of teachers within the school system. Teachers are sometimes unhappy with their assignments; either they do not get along well with their principal or their colleagues, or they wish to teach in a neighborhood that possesses social characteristics different from those of the district where they are now assigned. The administrative difficulties relating to transfer are considerable, and a wise board of education will try to anticipate transfer problems by establishing well-defined policies bearing on every contingency imaginable.

Among the more important questions to be considered are the following:

1. How and when should teacher-requested transfers be made? Is a special form to be provided? Are transfers to be made only in September and February? If not, what regulations should govern the time of transfer?

It would seem that, where the school year is divided into semesters, transfers might as a general rule be limited to the opening of school in the fall or to the beginning of the second semester. In school systems where the school year is not divided, transfers

should probably be restricted to the opening date in September. Because of the effects which a change of teachers is likely to have on pupils and their sense of security, it is doubtful if a more flexible policy than that just indicated can be defended. There will obviously be occasions when the general rule should be broken in the interests of both pupil and teacher welfare.

2. Who is to be responsible for notifying teachers about vacancies and how is notification to be made?

The superintendent of schools or the assistant superintendent, if the latter has been delegated the responsibility for assignment, should notify those teachers requesting transfers about vacancies. This should be done in writing.

3. Who should review requests for transfer?

Whoever is given the responsibility for assignment and transfer should review requests for changes in assignment. Ordinarily this person will be the superintendent of schools. In some school systems it may be desirable to have the requests presented to an advisory committee for their consideration. The final decision, however, should rest with the administrative officer in charge of assignment and transfer.

4. What special rules, if any, apply to probationary teachers seeking transfers?

The following policy, adopted by the Minneapolis Department of Personnel, seems to have considerable merit:

All other things being equal, it is advisable for probationary teachers to remain in the same position during the probationary period. Only in cases where the best interests of the teacher and the school system shall be served will a request for transfer from a probationary teacher be honored.<sup>13</sup>

5. What is to be the role of the principal of the school from which or to which the teacher requests transfer? What special provision is made for notification, for interviews, for securing recommendation of principal to superintendent with respect to the transfer?

Since the two individuals, other than the teacher himself, who are certain to be most concerned with a transfer are the principals in the two schools involved, every effort should be made to secure

<sup>13</sup> The Minneapolis Public Schools, Department of Personnel, *Transfer Policy*, April, 1953.

their cooperation. They should be informed in writing at the time the transfer is being considered. They should also be encouraged to interview the teacher, and if the transfer is not acceptable to either principal, an opportunity should be afforded to discuss the matter with the superintendent of schools. In small school systems transfers will in all probability be discussed in considerable detail with all parties concerned as a matter of routine. In large city systems it will be wise to define the specific steps to be taken, to ensure protection to both teacher and the principals involved.

6. Should transfer requests be recognized for the current year only or should they carry over for a longer period?

The size of the school system undoubtedly has a bearing on the question of how often to revise transfer requests. In a small school system where few transfers are involved it is conceivable that applications might be kept on file for two or three years, whereas a large city school system should probably limit consideration of requests to the current year only and permit renewals to be made annually.

7. What provision should be made for exchange of teachers within the school system?

Exchange of positions is sometimes desirable and should be permitted to teachers without loss of status. The regulations should provide that teachers who are interested should request an exchange well in advance of the opening of school and should obtain the approval of the superintendent and the principals of the schools involved.

8. What consideration should be given to seniority in the case of a teacher-requested transfer or where transfer is mandated by the central office?

The matter of seniority is one that cannot be ignored since it weighs heavily in the thinking of teachers. Certainly, when not inconsistent with the welfare of pupils, teachers of long years of experience in the system should be given preference over younger teachers on transfer requests. It is highly important, however, that pupil interests be protected, and hence seniority alone should not be made the determining factor.

9. What rules should govern reinstatement of transfers to their old positions?

A teacher transferred because of declining enrollment or some other unforeseen condition should, if he so wishes, be reinstated to

his former school in the event that it reopens and provided the teacher is qualified to fill the existing vacancy.

10. What consideration should be given to the age of teachers in determining transfer policy?

Although the principle of seniority should be recognized, there is undoubtedly an age limit beyond which transfers should not be mandated by the central office except where there is no suitable position open in the building in which the teacher is presently serving. The age limit is a matter for local determination, but certainly teachers approaching retirement should not be called upon to make the adjustments which are inherent in most transfers.

11. How should unsatisfactory assignments be handled?

Regulations may seem wholly inadequate for dealing with the problem of unsatisfactory assignment, since so much depends upon the nature and seriousness of the case in question. It is important, however, that the steps in the administrative procedure relating to transfer be clearly stated and generally understood. The principal, if he is the party who is dissatisfied, should notify the teacher of his doubts by mid-year or thereabouts. The superintendent of schools should be advised in writing of the situation. If satisfactory adjustments cannot be made and transfer is indicated for the following year, then the principal of the school to which transfer is being considered should be fully informed of the reasons for transfer, the steps taken to assist the teacher, and any other relevant facts that bear on the case. Obviously, the receiving principal should have an opportunity to assess the probable effects of the transfer on his school program, and if he is in doubt as to the wisdom of the transfer, his objections should be relayed to the superintendent of schools.

12. What records are to be kept?

The need for special records will depend upon the number of transfer cases, and, in small school systems, the regular teacher record form may prove to be quite adequate. Copies of requests and reassignments can be filed in the personnel folder together with correspondence bearing on the particular transfer. However, large cities may need additional records to ensure efficiency. A "Request for Transfer" card, indicating the name of the school, the position, the time the transfer is desired, the reasons for the request, and similar information, will serve to expedite the transfer procedure. No-

tification forms and a transfer record form on which a full history of the transfer can be recorded will also prove useful. There is, of course, no adequate substitute for local study in devising appropriate forms for use in administering teacher personnel procedures.

Since most of the foregoing questions are likely to arise in city school systems sooner or later, administrators, teachers, and boards of education should give serious thought to the establishment of policies that will tend to minimize the harm that may easily result from settling individual transfer cases on an opportunistic basis.

### RELATED READINGS

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- Educational Research Service, *Size of Class in 185 Public School Systems in Cities 30,000 to 100,000 in Population, 1949-50*, Circular No. 6. Washington: American Association of School Administrators and Research Division of the National Education Association, May, 1950.
- , *Size of Class in Public Schools in 77 Cities over 100,000 in Population, 1949-50*, Circular No. 4. Washington: American Association of School Administrators and Research Division of the National Education Association, April, 1950.
- , *Status of Year-round School Programs: Length of School Year for Professional Employees in City School Systems*, Circular No. 7. Washington: American Association of School Administrators and Research Division of the National Education Association, August, 1952.
- Review of Educational Research*, Vol. XXII, No. 3. Washington: American Educational Research Association, National Education Association, June, 1952, pp. 201-202.
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## — 5 — ORIENTATION

Many individual school administrators and supervisors have in the past given considerable thought and attention to orienting newly appointed teachers. In fact, there are few specific proposals for reform in this area that have not already been tested out by several school systems.<sup>1</sup> But orientation has not, as a rule, been viewed as an integral part of an in-service education program; hence it has not always contributed to the improvement of instruction except incidentally. It is essential, if the best results are to be obtained, that orientation procedures be thoughtfully organized and planned.

The primary purpose of giving attention to newly appointed teachers is to promote a high quality of instruction. When this major objective is analyzed it is apparent that the implications of an efficient program include giving assistance to recent appointees in settling down quickly to the routines of the school; introducing teachers early to the school system and the community; providing personal help in making social adjustments; offering constructive guidance in the development of teaching skills and professional attitudes; and providing opportunity for exchange of ideas between the new teacher and the administration.<sup>2</sup>

### SETTLING DOWN QUICKLY TO WORK

Nearly everyone who can remember his first few weeks of teaching will admit that the experience was frustrating and filled with

<sup>1</sup> See Educational Research Service, *Teacher Orientation Programs in City School Systems*, Circular No. 8, Washington, D.C., National Education Association, September, 1952.

<sup>2</sup> See Robert Shockley, *A Plan for Induction of New and Beginning Teachers in the Schools of Bloomfield, N.J.*, Unpublished doctoral project report (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950).

perplexities. At best, the uncertainties are bound to be numerous. Such questions as "How will my pupils react? Will I have trouble with discipline? What will be the attitude of parents? How much classroom supervision can I expect? What help will I get from other teachers?" are typical of the concerns which a new teacher experiences. The administration cannot, through any program imaginable, remove all these fears and doubts which beset the beginner. If ignored, time disposes of most of them, but often serious damage is done to both the individual and to the program of instruction in the process. A *laissez-faire* policy is inefficient and wasteful. From the time a candidate has been given assurance of appointment, the job of making him an integral part of the staff should begin. Communication with the newly appointed teacher should take up where the oral interview or interviews left off, and information which experience shows to have probable interest and significance for beginners should be systematically relayed to them. A copy of the teachers' handbook, the last issue of the school newspaper, recent school and central office bulletins—in fact, all informative material which is designed for staff consumption should be sent as a matter of course. It can be assumed that every alert appointee has more than a passing interest in the affairs of a school system with which he has just affiliated. It is therefore wiser for the superintendent of schools to send the beginning teacher too much rather than too little information.

Not all of the responsibility for communication with newly appointed teachers should rest on the shoulders of the superintendent of schools. A friendly letter from the principal in whose building the teacher has been assigned, if written early, can contribute considerably to the "settling down" phase of induction. Such a letter might well contain, in addition to the usual note of welcome, bits of information about the teacher's assignment that will enable the newcomer to do some preliminary planning and encourage him to ask questions. This step could easily lead to a series of exchanges of considerable significance for everyone concerned. The principal may be disposed to shirk this task if he doesn't have secretarial help, and the central office should be mindful of this. Encouragement should be offered principals to participate in orientation proceedings from the very beginning. They have a big stake in the outcome. Also,

where the local teachers' association plays an important role in the adjustment of the new teacher, a communication from an officer or a committee of the association can profitably be sent.

Probably the most fruitful single aid to new teachers before they meet with their classes is the *pre-school induction conference*, which a number of school systems have already inaugurated. The duration of these meetings ranges from one day to a full week, depending on the provisions made by the individual school system. Principals and supervisors, and sometimes experienced staff members, join together in these conferences for the purpose of introducing new teachers to the philosophy, policies, and practices of the school system. This experience can be made a major factor in the "settling down" process. When wisely planned it serves to fill in the gaps in the new teacher's understanding of how school affairs are conducted, gives him a better appreciation of his own role, and contributes to his peace of mind.

#### SUITABLE LIVING ACCOMMODATIONS

The matter of finding suitable accommodations is an important problem confronting new teachers. School systems today generally recognize this and have taken steps to assist inductees in every way possible in getting comfortably located. Sometimes the superintendent or his secretary keeps a list of approved accommodations on file in the central office; sometimes the principals of individual school units provide newly appointed teachers with information about housing.

Since morale is markedly affected by environmental factors, the matter of finding pleasant and comfortable living quarters for new teachers is exceedingly important. That the school system has a responsibility to anticipate the needs of this group by keeping an up-to-date file of living accommodations (or seeing that it is kept) seems only reasonable in light of its significance for the program of orientation. Increasingly, one of the most helpful sources of information on living quarters is the file built up by local teachers' associations. In some ways teachers are better qualified than the administration to collect and interpret data on the local housing situation. Where the administration and the teachers' association

are working in close cooperation, a hospitality committee is likely to have been appointed to greet new teachers upon arrival and to assist them in finding living accommodations.

If the administration follows the steps just outlined and provides new teachers with important information about the school system, establishes friendly relations through letters of welcome, and assists with the problem of living accommodations, it will have gone a long way toward preparing the newly appointed teacher for the job for which he was employed. Under such circumstances teachers should be able to settle down to the business at hand and devote themselves enthusiastically to their teaching.

### INTRODUCING THE NEW TEACHER TO SCHOOL SYSTEM AND COMMUNITY

Although, as one superintendent of schools remarked, "We shouldn't inundate teachers with a flood of activities during their first days on the job," it is desirable to introduce them early to the school system and to the community. A feeling of "at homeness" depends upon familiarity with one's surroundings. Moreover, pride in belonging to a school system is contingent upon acquaintance with those who play a responsible part in its affairs. Therefore, new teachers should be introduced to the whole staff, so that the latter will recognize and greet them when their paths cross in the future. Various procedures are now used to achieve these introductions. The superintendent of schools may present new teachers at a special faculty meeting early in the autumn session. Tea is often served on this occasion, and opportunity for getting acquainted is provided. The classroom teachers' association frequently holds a breakfast or a dinner at which beginning teachers receive special consideration. Members of the board of education are usually invited to these gatherings so that the new teacher has an early opportunity to see and meet those who have a major responsibility for determining school policies. To the degree that these occasions are organized so as to create a feeling of "at homeness," they are desirable features of an orientation program; otherwise they may contribute little to this objective, although they may serve other useful purposes. It is essential that the administration and those

planning such events keep in mind the specific objectives to be achieved.

#### INTRODUCING NEW TEACHERS TO COMMUNITY

An alert teacher is interested in knowing in considerable detail the nature of the community in which he has accepted employment. What is the composition of the population? What are its industries? Where are the chief centers of interest located? Who are its religious, cultural, and business leaders? What are the chief civic organizations? Answers to these and similar questions, if thoughtfully prepared and well dramatized, will leave an indelible impression upon new teachers. The test of what phases of community orientation to include and what to leave out, as well as the proper time to introduce specific events, should always be based on the likelihood that the decision will result in increased efficiency.

Alameda, California, reports that, as part of an orientation week program, the Chamber of Commerce makes arrangements with automobile dealers to take new teachers on a tour of the community during the first day of the program. Points of interest are identified and the town's resources discussed. This trip is followed by a luncheon in honor of new teachers given by the Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs.<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing practice serves to illustrate one of many approaches designed to incorporate beginning teachers as members of the community and acquaint them with local resources. School administrators should encourage Parent-Teacher Associations, the Chamber of Commerce, and other civic groups to accept appropriate responsibility for the induction of teachers. It can be made a most profitable experience for all concerned.

#### HELPING NEW TEACHERS MAKE PERSONAL ADJUSTMENTS

However emotionally stable a young teacher may be, there are problems which arise in adjusting to a new job situation that are exceedingly baffling. Supervisors and principals are not always well integrated and stable, and their relationships to the newly appointed

<sup>3</sup> *Teacher Orientation Programs in City School Systems*, p. 24.

teacher may be far from ideal. This condition may create tensions and leave the teacher disturbed and perplexed. Or, what is more likely, the recently appointed teacher may find it difficult to break into the social circle already established in the school staff, with resulting loneliness and feelings of inadequacy. Another source of trouble may arise from a few disgruntled parents. The latter are sometimes inconsiderate and critical of new teachers, and if a misunderstanding occurs early in the year, it may prove to be very disturbing to morale.

It is not reasonable to expect that all problems bearing on human relations can be anticipated and satisfactorily resolved through an orientation program, but a conscious and concerted effort to help new teachers with their personal problems will surely result in increased efficiency. A friendly atmosphere alone will contribute much to the rapid adjustment of the teacher to her fellow staff members and to other employees within the school system. The superintendent of schools should play a major role in creating such a climate. Moreover, he can by example exercise great influence on principals, supervisors, and teachers in developing a sympathetic attitude toward newly appointed teachers.

Situations will arise, however, where friendly counsel is needed. Although a good listener may be all that is required, the wisdom of an experienced teacher or principal, when brought to bear on a problem, will often suggest a course of action to the newcomer that will bring him more satisfying results than would pouring out his troubles to an inexperienced friend. The "buddy" or "big brother" plan, whereby each beginner, during his first year of service, has some experienced member of the staff assigned to him as a guide and counselor, has proved effective in many school systems where it has been tried. The success of such a plan depends upon the selection of counselors. When the latter are chosen on the basis of their understanding of human relations and their ability to get along with others, the so-called "buddy" plan is almost certain to prove successful.

There is no intention on the part of the authors to minimize the role of the principal and supervisor in helping new teachers with their personal problems. Through daily observation and association these leaders should be in an excellent position to provide guidance and to remove or modify disturbing influences. But, as has often

been pointed out, the status differences among professional employees in school systems often constitute a barrier to effective counseling. A young teacher must be sure in his own mind that his personal problems will not be viewed as weaknesses and be held against him by supervisors, or else he will keep his troubles to himself. Principals and supervisors imbued with the spirit underlying democratic leadership will have little difficulty in eliciting the real concerns of young teachers.

#### CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER BEGINNING TEACHERS

While administrators should bend every effort to weld the staff together as a unit and discourage cliques, there is no doubt that new teachers do derive much strength from one another. Since they are likely to be assigned to various building units in a school system and will therefore have little opportunity to get together during the day, some encouragement should be offered them to assemble frequently at the central office for the purpose of exchanging experiences and ideas, and, incidentally, to build and cement friendships. There is a sympathetic bond between inexperienced workers which, if properly guided and cultivated, can result in improved morale and greater efficiency.

#### HELPING NEW TEACHERS IMPROVE SKILLS AND DEVELOP PROFESSIONAL ATTITUDES

Newly appointed teachers frequently come directly from a college or university, and although they may be steeped in theories of teaching, they still have much to learn about the practical problems inherent in the job.

A major phase of induction relates to the supervisory task of releasing the teaching potentialities of these recruits. The supervisor's judgment is likely to be taxed to the limit in meeting this responsibility. On the one hand there is the danger of offering so much advice that the beginner can't comprehend it all; on the other, the danger of giving inadequate attention to the problems of the inexperienced teacher and thereby missing an opportunity to help him improve his teaching skill. A wise supervisor will, of course, soon size up the situation regarding the effects of his own visits and

advice on the improvement of individual staff members and can plan future efforts accordingly. But the over-all plan for increasing the teaching efficiency of beginners is not so easily determined. A recent study of induction practices in 72 school systems revealed that superintendents of schools rated the much-heralded general faculty meeting, held at the beginning of the year, relatively low among eleven common practices used to promote the efficiency of newly appointed teachers. Although this phase of the study was concerned only with opinions, there can be no doubt about the fact that the problems of the beginner are unique and require much closer supervisory attention than that provided through general faculty meetings.

Any attempt to propose an exhaustive plan for improving the professional skill of newly appointed teachers would require more space than can be allotted to it here. Moreover, the researches in this field have not yet provided authoritative answers to many of the questions relating to induction methods and procedures. The discussion that follows is based on ideas gathered from a variety of sources, and the conclusions represent the authors' best judgment as to what constitutes the wisest course of action for school systems to follow in improving the teaching skills of the newly appointed teacher.

#### EVALUATION SCHEME IMPORTANT

Newly appointed teachers will wish to know early how their achievement is to be judged. If a locally prepared scheme of evaluation is to be used, then a full explanation of it should be made before the new teacher enters the classroom. The "Ohio Teaching Record Anecdotal Observation Form"<sup>4</sup> is especially well adapted for use with inductees and has the advantage over most local schemes of having been developed by specialists in evaluation and tried out with hundreds of classroom teachers. One of its most commendable features is its comprehensiveness. The record form is organized around eight major questions:

1. What were the materials of instruction?
2. What was the function of the subject matter used?

<sup>4</sup>Ohio State University, *The Ohio Teaching Record Anecdotal Observation Form*, Second Revised Edition (Columbus, Ohio, 1945).

3. What methods of instruction were employed?
4. How effective were the materials and methods employed?
5. How did the teacher help students with their own personal problems?
6. What was done to promote better school-community relations?
7. How were democratic attitudes and relationships fostered?
8. How were good human relations furthered?

Copies of the form can be purchased by the school system and placed in the hands of each beginning teacher so that self-appraisal can also be encouraged.

Undoubtedly, there are many limitations to teacher evaluation schemes. But if there is one place where their use is justified, it is with young teachers who are in the apprenticeship stage. If wisely administered, the Ohio Teaching Record device can be an effective medium in improving the quality of instruction of those who are being introduced to teaching.

#### OBSERVATION OF EXPERIENCED TEACHERS

One of the most effective means of learning a skill is to watch some artist at work and then try to apply his methods. New teachers need more of this type of instruction than is commonly provided. When the observational visit has been carefully planned in advance to meet the specific needs of the observers, good results can be expected. Often it is possible to provide these observation opportunities in the building in which the new teacher is working but, where this isn't feasible, arrangements can usually be made to observe successful teachers at work elsewhere. These master teachers whose work is being observed should have a share in planning the visit, and whatever analysis is made of the teaching should be so used by the supervisor that future staff relationships are in no way impaired.

There are, of course, limitations to observation visits, growing out of the fact that the visitor sees only a small segment of a continuing process. But a new teacher cannot be expected to attain his full stature in a year. If he gains some insight from these visits and is able to apply some of the skills he observes, the experience will contribute to his growth. Some experimentation is now going on with motion picture films, and the results seem likely to provide supervisors with an additional medium for assisting newly appointed

teachers. The whole, rather than a small segment of a unit of pupil experience, can be observed in a film at a convenient time for teachers and supervisors, whereas it is not ordinarily feasible to arrange for the number of sequential observational visits that would be essential to get a complete picture. On the other hand, there is something to be said for the "live" show and it is exceedingly doubtful if classroom observation will be entirely replaced by films. Just what television holds in store for supervision is uncertain. There are obviously some promising possibilities.

#### THE ROLE OF DEMONSTRATION TEACHING

If the public could be persuaded to support education adequately, newly appointed teachers would usually be assigned a significantly different role from that which they now play. Instead of being asked to take over full responsibility for a class of thirty pupils, they would serve an internship and would be under the constant surveillance of a master teacher. They would observe from day to day how the experienced teacher handles a particular group of pupils, and their assumption of responsibilities would be gradual and according to plan. Account could then be taken of individual differences in the readiness of beginning teachers to shoulder the major tasks, and both pupils and teachers would profit from the arrangement.

Since the public is not likely to underwrite such a plan in the immediate future, less satisfactory measures must be used. Demonstration teaching is not infrequently used as a supervisory technique with beginning teachers. The supervisor or master teacher takes over the newly appointed teacher's class and demonstrates method. This is followed by conference and discussion. It differs from the observational visit in one important respect. The teacher's own class is involved, and hence she can judge the reactions of pupils to the teaching more successfully because of her acquaintance with members of the class. There are, of course, problems relating to this procedure. The status of the new teacher may be adversely affected by the demonstration; what is more likely, the teacher's feelings of inadequacy may be heightened because the class reacted so favorably to the demonstrator. Supervisors are usually aware of these dangers and take measures to prevent them.

## GUIDANCE IN PLANNING

One important way in which principals and supervisors can help new teachers improve their teaching is by assisting them in planning their work. Some of the major questions contained in the evaluation scheme discussed earlier point specifically to several areas where teachers will need guidance in planning. They will want to be sure that the materials of instruction are appropriate for the area of teaching experience under consideration; they will want guidance on the choice of subject matter to be presented; they will require help in choosing the methods of instruction that seem most likely to produce good results; they will want to know how the lesson can be taught so as to help pupils with their own personal problems; and they will need counsel in deciding what opportunities for promoting good school-community relationships seem most likely to develop. Beginning teachers will need considerable assistance in planning to achieve these and other goals inherent in a good teaching experience.

## AROUSING PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS

One aspect of teacher orientation that has received little formal attention is the development of professional interests and attitudes. Teaching should not be viewed merely as a means of making a living; it is a profession, and its members are both privileged and obligated to make significant social contributions. Moreover, it has great traditions and a splendid history of achievement. The sacrifices that have been made by teachers to protect the rights of children, to safeguard freedom of teaching and to elevate the profession to a position of great public prestige should not be allowed to go unnoticed by those who are being initiated. Teachers' associations have a responsibility to take up where the teacher preparatory institution left off in the "indoctrination" process. Not only should new teachers be encouraged to become members of a local teachers' association, but they should be urged to affiliate also with state and national associations. To be a member of a profession and not share the cost and work of those who are fighting its battles is to shirk an important obligation.

The surest way of developing a genuine interest on the part of

new teachers in the profession is to give them some important work to do. Room should be made for them on committees, and consideration should be given to the interests of this group in planning programs. Too often the welfare aspects of the program of teachers' associations are emphasized to the exclusion of other objectives. When this is true, new members tend to get the impression that higher salaries, more generous sick-leave, and tenure are about all the teachers' association hopes to achieve for its members. This is obviously too narrow a scope for a teachers' association program. Under wise leadership a wide variety of social, professional, and cultural opportunities are made available through the local teachers' association program.

Not only is it desirable to involve newly appointed teachers in the work of teachers' associations, but it is highly important that they develop constructive attitudes toward their fellow workers and toward professional responsibilities which are inherent in the job. In a few instances maladjusted individuals are appointed to teaching positions, and sometimes their emotional problems are so great that they are unable to work cooperatively with other teachers, administrators, or parents. Only through the efforts of a psychiatrist can these teachers become effective members of a teaching staff. Fortunately, most of the young members of the profession are normal human beings and sufficiently adaptable to respond to the standards of behavior established for professional workers. It is to this group that administrators and supervisors should direct their major attention. Attitudes are developed in no small part through imitation. If supervisors, administrators, and experienced teachers give evidence of being thoroughly professional in their relationships, this fact will weigh heavily in influencing the behavior of the newcomers. In short, the golden rule principle is basic. Without doubt the operation of a thoroughly democratic school system will do more than any other single factor to instill constructive professional attitudes in both new and experienced teachers. When a teacher plays an important role in formulating policy and determining program, he commits himself emotionally to the success of the enterprise in a way that is not possible under an authoritarian type of administration. Newly appointed teachers should be encouraged to exercise their school citizenship rights early.

One of the surest indications of a professionally minded teacher is

his respect for craftsmanship. Anyone who is satisfied to do a mediocre job of teaching lacks this quality and hence cannot truly be classified as a professional worker. Perhaps the evidence would not substantiate this conclusion but, in the opinion of the authors, craftsmanship is becoming rarer and rarer in many of the skilled occupations. The results of this tendency are too often observable. But, whatever the situation in other vocations, there can be no question about the need for emphasizing craftsmanship in teaching. Sincere praise and appreciation by supervisors and principals make for greater effort and, consequently, for improvement in the quality of a teacher's work.

The development of professional interests and attitudes should be made an integral part of the supervisory program, and the problem should be attacked on a broad front.

#### OPPORTUNITY FOR EXCHANGE OF IDEAS

One of the suggestions that students of the induction problem deem to be most promising in increasing the efficiency of beginning teachers is the scheduling of regular meetings in which newly appointed teachers, administrators, and supervisors sit down and discuss their problems. The proposal provides that ample opportunity be given individual teachers to make suggestions and to express their ideas freely. This face-to-face relationship, where the purpose is to examine problems objectively and to arrive at solutions co-operatively, has the advantage of encouraging beginning teachers to take considerable responsibility for the solution of their own problems, and it adds greatly to morale. A teacher's professional growth is largely dependent upon his active participation in the improvement of the school enterprise. This arrangement, therefore, constitutes one of the first steps in enlisting the cooperation of teachers in a program of in-service education.

It is probably unwise for all administrators and supervisors to be present at each of the scheduled meetings of newly appointed teachers. Administrators should certainly be a minority group; otherwise teachers are likely to feel outnumbered and therefore somewhat timid about expressing their ideas. A plan whereby principals and supervisors might rotate their attendance would probably be preferable. The superintendent of schools or some

other administrator designated by him should chair meetings and serve as coordinator. It is essential that someone give leadership to this phase of the orientation program. Moreover, when it is agreed that a sound proposal has been made for resolving a problem, appropriate action should follow as soon as is reasonably possible. There is nothing that cools the professional ardor of a young teacher more than to discover that the administration really isn't serious about making improvements.

These meetings of young teachers also offer an opportunity for administrators and supervisors to help enthusiastic inductees learn and appreciate how changes take place in a school program. Not infrequently the beginning teacher, fresh out of college and anxious to put his theories into action, is supercritical of the administrators because they appear slow to revise procedures and force changes that theoretically appear sound. They are not aware of such obstacles as a doubting public or a skeptical staff. When all of the forces and influences which bear on the program are analyzed and understood, the perception of teachers is enlarged, and their attitude toward the administration remains cooperative. It is highly important that young teachers shall not lose their idealism or become cynical. But it is equally important that they come to understand early that an ideal program cannot be achieved overnight.

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## —6— SALARIES AND SALARY SCHEDULING

Any attempt to confine a discussion of teachers' salaries to a few pages is likely to result either in the omission of some very important aspects of the problem or in rather superficial treatment. Recognizing this predicament, the authors have chosen to follow what seems to them a middle course, hoping that those who wish to delve more deeply into this subject will consult some of the bulletins and monographs which deal more extensively with salaries and salary scheduling.

The determination of the pay of teachers and the establishment of salary schedules in general in public school systems has been a highly controversial issue throughout the history of the profession. Although teachers create wealth, which may be considered an economic product, that wealth is not in such a form that they can readily gain control of it or collect pay for it. It would be extremely difficult to set a monetary value on the educational output of the schools, even if it were possible to distinguish the effect of schooling from the results of home training and learning opportunities provided by other agencies. Furthermore, the specific contribution of a particular teacher to the education of a certain child is also unmeasurable. Hence, other considerations, rather than units of productivity, have determined and will continue to determine the level of teachers' salaries.

There are other unique factors in the situation beyond the considerations just enumerated which operate to complicate the problem still further. Education is not established on a basis of equal exchange. The whole purpose and structure of the educational enterprise is different from that of a business concern. Business is carried on for profit whereas public schools are maintained in order that their product may be practically given away. Business is conducted by private enterprisers on a competitive basis; schools are

operated by the community and the state as a virtual monopoly. Wages of industrial workers come from the sale of the finished product; teachers' salaries come from the taxpayers' pockets. Wages are determined by employers who have large personal interests at stake; unpaid, elective school boards who have little to gain or lose are responsible for determining teachers' salaries. In short, education and business are so different in motive, in organization, and in operation that forces which rule unchallenged in the business field are far less potent or may even be negligible in education. Therefore, a wage theory designed for industry cannot be transferred bodily to public school employees with any assurance of a snug fit.

#### SUPPLY AND DEMAND

The law of supply and demand is a general term which is frequently given as the answer to the question of what determines wage levels. Supply and demand certainly do play a dominant role in wage determination. In industry the marginal productivity theory, the essence of which is that the rate of wages is determined by the value of the product of the marginal worker, is a helpful concept in explaining wage rates. Inherent in it is the idea that, other things being equal, such as the supply of land and capital and the intensity of the demand for labor, the productivity of a laborer will be in inverse ratio to the number of laborers.

The demand for labor is determined entirely by the marginal demand for the product of labor on the part of consumers, as anticipated by the employers. Since marginal demand for goods is governed by intensity of desire, diminishing utility, and purchasing power of the consumer, these factors must be carefully assessed in establishing wage rates. When one attempts to apply this principle to wages in a given occupation and in a restricted area, one gets hopelessly lost in a myriad of statistics.

Moreover, this neat little explanation of wages assumes an artificial economic system where competition is entirely free, where labor is both intelligent and mobile, and where self-interest is the only motive; it also assumes a competition between employers for labor at least as keen as between employees for jobs, with a consequent equality in the bargaining power of these two parties. Such assumptions are quite unwarranted. Inertia, friction, cost of trans-

Efforts to increase salaries are therefore hindered by an oversupply of teachers.

Although there can be no doubt about the fact that wages in comparable occupations have a direct bearing on teachers' salaries, there are certain modifying considerations. Teaching offers certain inducements apart from the dollars-and-cents return. It offers relatively long vacations and a minimum of risk; it is rewarding in that teaching provides a maximum of intellectual and emotional pleasure. The opportunity to render social service also brings great satisfaction. These "other good and valuable considerations" constitute a partial offset to establishing teachers' salaries at levels somewhat lower than those set for workers of equal ability and competence in business and in the professional world outside teaching. Some differential, therefore, between the pay of teachers and that of comparable workers in industry may be expected to persist.

#### OTHER SALARY DETERMINANTS

It would be inconsistent with the generalization made earlier—that modern wage theories are at best only statements of trends and tendencies and by no means inexorable laws governing the pay of workers in any walk of life—to fail to point out in this discussion certain elements which condition rates of pay in school systems today. Teacher organizations influence salaries through collective bargaining or negotiation even though the agreements reached are not usually official. To a limited degree these associations exercise control over supply by bringing pressure on state legislatures and state departments of education to uphold certification standards and by influencing local boards of education to select only highly qualified teachers when filling vacancies. In a few city school systems teachers have increased salaries by dint of political pressure. Admittedly, however, collective bargaining procedures and pressure tactics have played a smaller part in jacking up salaries in the teaching profession than they have in industry, but they have had some effect and will in all probability become more important as teacher organizations grow in strength.

Another factor which interferes with the smooth operation of the law of supply and demand is the marked variation in state certification requirements. Teachers are confronted with many barriers in

trying to cross state lines. A fully qualified teacher in one state is often not eligible to teach in neighboring states without securing much additional preparation. Even though this situation is changing rapidly, it continues to affect supply and indirectly influences salaries.

The certification authorities hold the key to the supply problem in that they can add to or subtract from the reservoir of teachers by lowering or raising certification standards. An illustration in point is the large number of emergency certificates granted in recent years.

The fact that more than three-quarters of our public school teachers are women also tends to keep salaries low. So many industrial and professional fields are closed to women that they perforce have swarmed into the few occupations which are open to them. Inasmuch as women are notoriously paid less than men, despite equal pay laws, the general level of salaries in school systems has been uniformly low.

To what extent teachers can create a demand for their product is a moot question. In industry all the tricks of psychology are cunningly turned to account by advertisers whose sole purpose is the artificial stimulation of popular desire for a particular product. Such efforts undoubtedly do exert an important influence on the demand for goods. School systems have no salesmen and no advertising departments to proclaim their wares to the public, and, what is more significant, tangible evidence of the value of a teacher's work is not easily displayed.

Educating boards of education and the public generally to the vast significance of the school teacher's contribution is an enormous task. Moreover, it is difficult to convince school boards and the lay public that high qualitative standards in teacher selection will pay off in terms of educational output.

teachers' salaries are what they are than in discovering how they can be controlled, and specifically, how they can be increased. Although teachers' salaries are derived from taxation, while wage earners are paid from the sale of a product or a service, the sources of additional income are much the same for the two classes of workers.

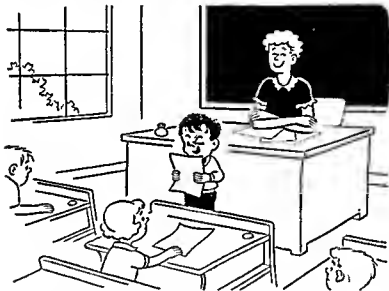
Teachers' salaries, in common with wages, may be raised by the following means:

1. *Redistribution.* Higher wages can be obtained by increasing labor's share of the total national dividend at the expense of profit, rent, or interest, that is, by taking from one class of workers to give to another. In the case of teachers, this would mean (a) raising the school tax rate, (b) increasing the proportion of federal, state, and municipal taxes devoted to education, or (c) changing the incidence of taxation. Higher salaries in the first instance would be contributed to by all taxpayers. In the second instance the tax rate would remain unchanged, but teachers would receive some of the money otherwise expended on street-cleaning, road-making, public health service, fire protection, traffic control, law enforcement, park maintenance, sanitation, etc. In the third instance a different kind of tax might raise more revenue with less hardship.

II. *Increased Total Production.* Obviously the amount of wealth which wage earners can acquire is limited by the total amount available for division. By maintaining the same proportionate share of labor but increasing the total dividend in one way or another, the amount accruing to labor can be augmented. If we regard the school as a productive undertaking comparable to an industrial concern, almost every form of efficiency—scientific management, better routing, superior technique, modern equipment, effective organization, technical research, and so on—which eliminates waste and lowers the cost of production in a business enterprise can perform the same office in the school. If coal is purchased more cheaply and used more efficiently, if clerical assistance is more expert, if school buildings are properly located, better planned, and more completely utilized, if rural schools are consolidated, and if countless other economies are effected which in no way impair the educational program, funds are released that may be devoted to teachers' salaries.

Teachers also may profit from increased production in fields other

than their own, because the same tax rate will raise more money as the wealth upon which it is assessed increases. In this connection it should be noted that teachers would gain from greater national prosperity only if the new wealth were in taxable form. Teachers also gain if part or all of the newly created surplus in an industrial concern is passed on to the consumer in the form of lower prices, instead of being added to the laborer's pay envelope, the management's salary check, the entrepreneur's profits, the landlord's rent,



**"The title of my composition is 'More Pay for Teachers'!"**

Joe Campbell, *The American Magazine*, Dec. 1952.

or the investor's interest. Lower prices do not add to the teacher's nominal salary, but they are an important means of raising his "real wage" by making the same income go farther.

Increased production makes higher salaries possible, but it does not guarantee them. Sufficient strength to secure a slice of each new gain is essential for bigger and better incomes.

III. *Increased "Free Income."* Services which are not a part of the worker's wage and for which he does not have to pay constitute his "free income." The teachers free income may come to him as a

member of the community in the form of public parks, playgrounds and beaches, public health service and clinics, education, public libraries, and so on, or it may go along with his educational position as pension provision, school medical service, cafeteria privileges, and use of the gymnasium for recreation. In either case these services contribute to his well-being without subtracting from his salary.

In conclusion, the teacher's material welfare can be improved first by increasing his "real wage" through the medium of larger salaries or lower prices, or both, by the means indicated above; second, by increasing his free income.

### THE INFLUENCE OF LIVING COSTS ON TEACHERS' SALARIES

During days of inflation, nearly everyone is cognizant of the fact that the contents of his pay envelope or the figures on his salary check do not adequately represent the size of his income. His real remuneration is a matter of the commodities, the services, and the well-being which his money can buy. The prices of the goods and services which he requires or wants are therefore of vital concern to him.

The cost of maintaining a professional standard of living is a factor which looms large in the teacher's mind when assessing the adequacy of a wage policy. Unfortunately, too little attention has been given to this criterion in formulating salary schedules. Part of the difficulty stems from the fact that neither the experts nor the laymen agree on what constitutes a professional standard of living. Some attempts have been made to portray the cost of a budget for executives and workers in high-level occupations, but the figures presented have not received universal acceptance.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, since the typical teacher is a single woman she doesn't conform to the usual pattern of the professional employee outside teaching, who is a male with a wife and one or two children. Studies of teacher

budgets more often have been confined to actual expenditures for a given period of time. In view of the low incomes of teachers generally, the results of these studies have been inconclusive as far as providing an answer to the question, "What should the amount of each budget item have been?" State labor bureaus and the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics commonly restrict their investigations to living costs of workers in industry with the objective in mind of establishing minimum wage rates which, while providing a base line, throw little light on the needs of professional employees.

To determine basic salary levels it is necessary to decide first what the standard of living of public school teachers should be, and, second, to determine the cost of the budget items inherent in such a standard of living. A further decision has to be made as to whether or not this professional wage is to apply to a single person, a married man, an average family, or some other unit. A highly controversial question arises over whether or not a family allowance system should be superimposed on the wage levels set for single teachers. The United States Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Public Health Service have used such a pay plan for several years. Since single women constitute such a large proportion of the teaching personnel in the United States, and since the principle of equal pay has gained so much acceptance, the opposition to family allowance is strong. Certainly from a theoretical standpoint there is much justification for recognizing dependency in setting up salary policies. Under existing circumstances married men are discouraged from entering or remaining in classroom teaching posts.

A number of school systems are experimenting with the family allowance provision.<sup>2</sup> Usually the differential for dependents is very small (a few hundred dollars at most) and in no way meets the real needs of the man or woman with family responsibilities. There is little uniformity in existing practice. Some schedules limit the differential to new teachers; some schedules do not provide for dependents other than spouse and children.

<sup>2</sup> In 1951, 8 per cent of the city school systems reported that they made provision in their salary schedules for dependents. In cities of 5,000 to 10,000 the percentage was 11. See also *Family Allowances in School Salary Schedules, 1948-49* (mimeo) (Washington, D.C.: Research Division, National Education Association, August, 1949).

Whether or not American public school systems will move rapidly in the direction of providing some salary adjustment to care for teachers with dependents is a highly speculative question. The hope that salary levels will be elevated to the point where a professional man with a family can maintain a comfortable standard of living without a differential of the nature indicated above seems rather dim at the moment. Professional associations generally are supporting the professional wage for all teachers in the hope that the equal pay principle will in no way be violated.

#### COST-OF-LIVING INDEX

Without question the Consumer Price Index, released monthly by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, has influenced salary levels more in recent years than any other single factor. Nearly every salary study portrays the upward rise of prices, citing as its authority the Consumer Price Index. This index is designed for moderate-income families in cities and measures average monthly changes in retail prices of goods, rents, and services purchased by wage earners and low salaried workers. In the revised index the figure "100.0" represents the average of consumers' prices in the three years 1917-1919 and constitutes the base for computing the amount of change. Indexes are available for each of twenty large cities and for all the twenty cities combined.<sup>2</sup> One is able to study the month-to-month fluctuations of all the elements which go to make up the index. The Consumer Price Index includes the following general classifications: (1) food, (2) housing, (3) apparel, (4) transportation, (5) medical care, (6) personal care, (7) reading and recreation, (8) other goods and services.

Although the Index reflects the changes in the cost of budget items of moderate-income families, the data have been widely used in determining wage and salary policies of employees at various income levels. Civil service employees, teachers, school secretaries, and school custodians have all drawn heavily on the Consumer

<sup>2</sup> The former index was based on prices prevailing during the period 1935-1939. The revised index is based on postwar prices. Information from a total of 40 large and small cities is included in the latter.

Items are priced every month in ten cities.

Price Index in their effort to keep wages and salaries in line with the upward spiral of prices.

The Consumer Price Index is often misinterpreted by readers. The fact that the index figure for Washington, D.C., in May was higher than for St. Louis, Missouri, doesn't mean that the cost of living was necessarily higher at that time in the former than in the latter city. It simply means that since 1949 prices had risen more in Washington than in St. Louis. Conceivably, they were lower in Washington in 1949.

Although the price index has been useful in revising teachers' salaries, it is based on the needs of industrial workers and does not adequately reflect the cost of the items in the professional man's budget. This has led many students of the wage problem to question the use of the index in establishing salary policies for teachers. A cost-of-living index based solely on the goods and services of public school teachers would be vastly superior to the Consumer Price Index in appraising teachers' salary levels.

Professor Harold F. Clark of Teachers College, Columbia University, has designed an index which is probably more appropriate for measuring the living-cost changes of public school teachers than is the Consumer Price Index. The major budget items that make it up are reported every other month in *The School Executive* magazine.

A few city school systems—notably Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Duluth, Minnesota, and Stamford, Connecticut—have geared salaries directly to the Consumer Price Index.<sup>4</sup> The manner in which, and the degree to which, this has been done vary. In Milwaukee, for example, the arrangement in 1950 was to adjust salaries by applying the per cent by which the August 15 index exceeded the base of 100.0 to a salary or wage of \$1,620. The amount resulting constituted the bonus to be added to each teacher's salary for the ensuing year. No adjustment was made in compensation in the event the index number did not change more than one point from one September to the next.

In Duluth, by a resolution adopted by the Board of Education on March 15, 1946, the adjustment was set as the product of twelve dollars times the number of index points represented by the differ-

<sup>4</sup> *Cost of Living Adjustments for Teachers' Salaries, 1950-51* (Washington, D.C., Research Division, National Education Association, Nov. 1950).

ence between 100 and the latest cost-of-living index available August 1. This index is compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor for the West North-Central Area, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

The Stamford formula in 1950 provided for a variation in adjustment according to salary levels. The regulation as drafted was as follows:

Take the report of the Consumer Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for New York City for March of the current year. This index corrected to the nearest multiple of five placed over 130 is the correcting factor to be used in adjusting the salaries for the year ensuing.

Obviously as the index figure creeps up, some increase in the denominator (130) would seem to be indicated if adequate bonuses are to be provided Stamford teachers.

Several other variations could be cited. Quite commonly the base salary used for calculating the adjustment is less than the actual salary paid. Moreover, the payment of the adjustment is frequently conditional upon a stated minimum change in the index such as 2 per cent or five points. Some school systems adjust annually and others every six months.

The chief arguments for gearing teachers' salaries to the true Consumer Price Index can be summarized as follows:

1. The automatic cost-of-living adjustment arrangement tends to reduce the time lag between salaries and rising or falling prices.
2. It makes possible the achievement of salary increases with less effort and friction than can logically be hoped for through other forms of salary negotiation.

3. It seems to be working well in industry.

4. It gives stability to purchasing power.

Arguments against such a procedure include:

1. It doesn't provide for the improvement of the basic schedule but presumes it to be adequate.
2. School district income cannot usually be automatically increased to keep pace with increased salary costs; hence large reserves have to be maintained.
3. The relationship of automatic salary increases to the welfare of the "economy" is not known. The whole procedure may be unsound.

4. Present indexes still fall far short of measuring accurately the changes in living cost, and the injustices wrought through automatic adjustment may be greater than those created through direct negotiation.

Whatever the merits of the theoretical arguments just enumerated, the trend toward adjusting salaries to the Consumer Price Index has not been marked. Boards of education seem reluctant to stabilize the purchasing power of teachers in any regularized or systematic fashion. Teachers also are somewhat skeptical of gearing salaries to an index because they fear that it will tend to fix their status permanently and not allow for the advance that logically should accompany improvements in the economy generally. Theoretically, of course, it should be possible to review the salary situation periodically and make such adjustments as changes in economic conditions warrant. Perhaps if the principle becomes more universally accepted by industry, school systems will be less resistant to the idea of automatic cost-of-living adjustments than they have been to date. From the standpoint of the welfare of the individual teacher, there would seem to be more to be gained than lost through the adoption of the automatic feature.

### THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN WAGE CONTROL

The use of the cost-of-living factor in salary determination is in opposition to the marginal productivity theory of wage determination in that it introduces a consideration wholly unrelated to the economic value of the worker's effort. Relatively early in the century governmental agencies found that some protection against the exploitation of employees was in the interests of public welfare, and today minimum wage laws are the rule rather than the exception.

No longer is labor treated as a commodity. Nor is this principle of government supervision restricted to private industry; it pertains to public employees as well. As early as 1925 a minimum wage law was enacted to cover postal employees, and, in 1953, 32 states, Alaska, and Hawaii had salary laws governing the pay of teachers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In twenty states the minimum salary schedule includes certain required increments for experience. In nine states the minimum is based on level of preparation or characteristics of the school district, but no increments are required. In five states a single flat-rate salary is provided.

It is obvious, then, that ethical as well as economic considerations enter into the determination of modern salary policies.

Salary laws relating to public school employees vary so widely in character that it is difficult to generalize about them. In some states it would appear that the purpose was to set a minimum standard of health and decency; in these commonwealths the lowest salary a school district can pay a qualified teacher is specifically set. In other states, such as New York and Pennsylvania, and in Alaska and Hawaii, the purpose seems to have been to provide a base salary substantially above the subsistence level and to encourage teachers to remain in their positions by establishing schedules in which several automatic annual increments are assured.<sup>6</sup> This latter arrangement is a departure from the earlier conception of a minimum wage as a protection against exploitation. It implies that the state has an important stake in the public school enterprise. Although admittedly no state has mandated salary schedules that can be characterized as adequate to ensure even experienced teachers a professional standard of living, a few states are approaching this goal.

The proper role of the state in wage determination is somewhat controversial. Traditionally, teachers' salaries in the United States have been determined by local boards of education. In the main, this policy has worked out rather well in practice. It has encouraged school districts to think through and resolve their own wage problems. It has resulted in experimentation and in considerable variation both in the structure of salary schedules and in the rates of pay awarded. The single salary schedule represents a reform which came out of local experimentation.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the relatively high salary levels established for teachers in certain metropolitan school communities are the result of local initiative and study rather than of mandates from the state.

The state obviously stands to gain by encouraging local districts to put forth their best efforts in establishing sound salary policies. At the same time experience shows that many communities are recalcitrant and shortsighted, and that, when left to their own ini-

<sup>6</sup> Beginning salaries legally required in 1953 range from \$600 in Kentucky to \$3,600 in Alaska.

<sup>7</sup> By 1951, about 96 per cent of the city school systems in the United States which had salary schedules were using the preparation type salary schedule.

tative, they will fall short of meeting the needs of children. Certification requirements are imposed by the state to ensure a minimum quality of teacher preparation, and minimum salary levels have been deemed equally essential to attract and retain competent teachers. Just how far the state is justified in mandating salary policies is the real question at issue. Should it go beyond a bare minimum? Should it stipulate a promotional-increment arrangement and define procedures for evaluating teacher merit? In the case of New York State the answer has been in the affirmative. Probably some intermediate position promises most for public education. Acknowledging the right of those states that make generous financial provision for aid to local districts to assume a share in the formulation of salary schedules, there remains the question of what should be mandated. It seems to the authors that there is much to be said in support of the following guiding principles:

1. That a foundation schedule be established with minimum salaries high enough to enable teachers without dependents to maintain themselves without being subsidized by parents or other relatives, or by supplementary jobs; and that continuity of service be encouraged through a stipulated number of salary increments.

2. That the number of mandatory increments be kept small and that local school systems be encouraged to provide additional increments in keeping with their own needs and desires.

3. That the size of the mandatory increments be large enough to bring teachers, after a few years of service, to a salary level that will permit them generally to maintain a standard of living in harmony with their responsibilities.

4. That no quality factors, other than those implied in certification requirements, college or university degrees, and experience, be made a condition of salary promotion, except that local boards of education be allowed, under certain circumstances, to withhold increments, provided the right of appeal to an appropriate authority is assured the teachers affected.

5. That discrimination on the basis of sex be prohibited.

6. That local school districts be given complete freedom beyond the state-mandated schedules to set up whatever salary provisions they see fit to establish, except that no school district be permitted to establish lower maximum salaries for its present teaching personnel than are now mandated.

## EQUAL PAY LEGISLATION

One of the interesting developments in wage legislation during the past three or four decades has been the trend toward equal pay for men and women. This trend was given its first great impetus by woman suffrage and it gained tremendous momentum during the last world war. Although it would be an exaggeration to state that equal pay laws are the direct result of any single force, it is certain that the feminist movement played a large role in bringing about this reform. There are still wide differences in the actual salaries paid men and women in both business and in education, but the disparity is rapidly disappearing. Fifteen states and the District of Columbia have enacted equal pay laws which affect public school teachers and which prohibit salary discrimination on the basis of sex.\*

The New Jersey law is fairly typical. It states that, "Female teachers in the public schools shall be paid compensation equal to that paid to male teachers holding similar positions and employments with similar training and terms of service."<sup>1</sup>

There is some question as to whether a system of family allowances would be adjudged legal under such a statute. In certain other states, such as Massachusetts, equal pay laws apparently would permit a local school system to incorporate a family allowance provision in its salary schedule, provided the local board did not limit benefits solely to men.

Although it is understandable that government policy should be consistent with the equal pay principle, localities should be privileged to decide for themselves whether or not they wish to grant bonuses to employees who have heavy dependency loads. The state's responsibility has been fulfilled when it guarantees employees freedom from unjust discrimination. The recognition of dependency loads in salary schedules need not imply any sex discrimination, and local efforts to deal with this important social problem should not be discouraged by state law.

\* California, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Texas, Washington and Wyoming.

<sup>1</sup> *New Jersey Statutes Annotated, 1952 Pocket Part*, sec. 18:13-10.1.

## LOCAL SALARY SCHEDULES

Most school systems in the United States have officially adopted schedules for paying teachers.<sup>10</sup> Although considerable discretionary power rests with the board of education as to what salary a particular teacher is to receive, there is in effect now an over-all plan with stated minimum and maximum salaries for various classes of teachers and a well-defined increment arrangement. The trend over the past several decades has been consistently in the direction of establishing definite salary policies and in some states local school districts are required by law to formulate salary schedules for their professional employees.

The advantages of clearly defined salary policies are so obvious that they warrant little discussion. Salary schedules have contributed to the building of teacher morale; they have enabled boards of education to make budgetary estimates with greater accuracy; they have provided teacher applicants with important information about the financial rewards that they may expect should they accept appointment. From the teachers' point of view salary schedules have removed the *bugbear* of individual bargaining. Where the latter exists, the board of education has the greater advantage.

## SALARY DETERMINATION—A COOPERATIVE VENTURE

Salary schedules are commonly developed through group study and discussion and are designed to meet the needs of teachers as well as to serve the interests of the community and its children.

Current efforts in determining salary policies are much more democratic and enlightened than were the practices of earlier decades. Today salary committees are the rule rather than the exception. Representative teachers and lay citizens serve on these committees along with school principals and central office employees. The function of salary committees, when officially appointed or elected, is to study the salary problem and advise the administration and the board of education about needed revisions. The final decisions must of necessity rest with the board of education. Teachers' associations

<sup>10</sup> In 1951, according to the N.E.A. Research Division, 91 per cent of city school systems had salary schedules.

often have their own salary committees which frequently formulate and promote salary policies. Such committees, however, are not usually representative of all the interests of the school system, and their proposals are likely to be viewed by the board of education with some skepticism. Studies by truly representative salary committees are more likely to receive serious consideration. The basic data essential for wise salary determination include factual information bearing on the cost of living of teachers, salaries paid in comparable communities, the estimated cost of a proposed salary schedule, and the ability of the community to support adequate salaries. It is sound policy for a board of education to encourage studies that have community-wide significance and to create whatever machinery seems best to carry on research and investigation. For the welfare of the children, the interest and participation of public-spirited citizens and employees should be fully utilized in salary and wage problems as well as in plant and program planning.

#### THE ROLE OF THE CONSULTANT

The formulation of local salary policies is a difficult task. As is the case with wage determination generally, there are many controversial issues to be resolved, and no formula has yet been devised by which the process can be made wholly objective and free of all bias and prejudice. It is because of the complicated nature of the problem that boards of education and school administrators should seek the wisest counsel available. In many school systems the board of education has employed a consultant to give leadership to salary committees.<sup>11</sup> Where this approach is used, there is less likelihood of the study bogging down. An outside leader can often keep the discussion of salary issues on a high plane, whereas a local committee, working on its own, sometimes becomes embroiled in heated arguments, with all the bitterness which inevitably accompanies them.

A few committees have viewed salaries as only one of several interrelated problems and have undertaken to study a number of them concurrently. When this approach is followed, policies related to teacher selection, induction, in-service education, and perform-

<sup>11</sup> Sometimes the cost of employing a consultant is shared jointly by the board of education and the local teachers' association.

ance are carefully analyzed and a broad program aimed at improving instructional efficiency is developed. Such a procedure is likely to give perspective to everybody concerned.

#### SOURCES TO CONSULT

The Research Division of the N.E.A. has rendered invaluable service to consultants and local committees in studying salary problems. This agency publishes detailed salary data gathered periodically from local school systems throughout the United States. It has on file a wealth of material relating to nearly every phase of salary scheduling.

Specialists in the Research Division have on occasion assisted local school systems directly in resolving their salary problems. Their leadership in the salary field has been a significant factor in the improvement of both local and state wage arrangements. Frequently state teachers' associations also devote considerable money and attention to the collection and interpretation of salary information. The publications of the research departments of a few of the state associations are important sources to consult when undertaking salary studies.<sup>12</sup>

There are occasions when the atmosphere is so beclouded with controversy that a salary committee composed of several recognized consultants can serve the best interests of the school system. The Fact-Finding Committee in New York City is an illustration of this method of trying to reach a solution to a perplexing local problem.<sup>13</sup> This particular committee held many hearings and assumed full responsibility for advising the board of education regarding salary policies.

Salary disputes between boards of education and teachers have been numerous and it seems unlikely that they can be completely avoided. But as is the case with policy formulation generally, a democratic approach promises the best results and is least open to attack.

The type of collective bargaining agreement employed in indus-

<sup>12</sup> The California Teachers Association and the New York Education Association are excellent cases in point.

<sup>13</sup> See *Report of the Fact-Finding Committee of the Board of Education, City of New York*, February 15, 1931.

try is not suited to the needs of most American school systems; a more informal procedure of reaching understandings is usually preferable.

#### CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF MODERN SALARY SCHEDULES.

In recent years there has been a steady improvement in the development of salary schedules. Not only have teachers, administrators, and laymen worked together cooperatively in establishing salary levels, but most city school systems have prepared and published guides or schedules that have defined and clarified salary policies. In many instances the purposes that the schedule is designed to serve are specifically set forth, as in the Gardner, Massachusetts, schedule. This schedule had as its objectives: "(a) to attract to Gardner the most desirable teachers available; (b) to give stability to the teaching staff by making it less to the advantage of our better teachers to accept positions elsewhere; (c) to stimulate professional growth while teaching; (d) to enable our teachers to maintain adequate living and cultural standards."<sup>14</sup>

Clear statements of purpose, such as the one above, give both the public and the teaching staff assurance that the board of education appreciates the full implications of salary policy.

Many school systems also announce the underlying principles upon which the salary schedule is based. To illustrate, the Verona, New Jersey, salary guide states that "the guide as it applies to teachers shall not make any distinction among teachers on the basis of grade level or subject taught."

This same guide also stresses the principle that "since successful teaching experience contributes to the ability of an employee to render valuable service, the amount of experience shall be recognized in the provisions of the guide applicable to all employees."<sup>15</sup>

Where preparation is the basis for classification, the training levels are usually defined. These range from two classifications, such as teachers holding bachelor's degrees and those holding master's degrees or higher, to schedules with six or more classifications based on refined breakdowns in educational preparation.

Beyond the general practice of recognizing the amount of prep-

<sup>14</sup> *Salary Schedule Workbook* (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, June, 1951), p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

aration and the number of years of experience of teachers, there is little uniformity in salary schedules. The number of increments provided by city school systems for teachers in the four-year or bachelor's degree class ranges from 5 to 21. The median number is 13. The size of the increments provided in these same schedules extends from \$50 or less to \$310 or more. The increment pattern also varies considerably. While a larger proportion of city school systems grant the same size increment throughout a given salary classification, a substantial number provide larger increments to teachers either during the early or the later years of service.<sup>16</sup>

There is considerable variation in the size of the differentials established between salary classifications. In some schedules a sizable premium (\$300-\$500) is placed on holding a master's degree over a bachelor's degree, whereas in others the salary differential between the bachelor's and the master's degree classifications is extremely small.

Some school systems hold strictly to academic and professional training in classifying teachers whereas an increasing number of school systems allow equivalents for graduate study in the form of travel, work experience, research, professional writing, and committee activities. Equal pay for men and women, while gaining in popularity as a principle, is by no means universal. In 1951 approximately 20 per cent of the city school systems were paying men teachers more than women teachers of equal training and experience. About 8 per cent of the city school systems made special provisions for heads of families. Merit ratings are not widely used as a basis of determining regular salary increments, although most school systems retain the right to withhold increments in the case of unsatisfactory service.<sup>17</sup>

Slightly less than half of the city school systems pay teachers on a basis of nine or ten calendar months, and slightly over half pay in units corresponding to the twelve months of the calendar year. The trend is definitely toward the twelve-month payment plan. All in all there is less uniformity in salary practices in America than exists in most countries of the world.

\* See *Salaries and Salary Schedules of Urban School Employees, 1952-53*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, April, 1953), p. 92.

<sup>17</sup> In 1951 less than 10 per cent of city school systems, according to an N.E.A. research study, used ratings as a basis of determining regular salary increments.

## PRIOR SERVICE

It would be relatively easy to deal with the question of prior service if one could assume, first, that all teaching experience was equal in value, and, second, that the local community could afford the financial cost of making a new schedule retroactive and placing every employee on the revised scale at the appropriate step for his years of experience. Unfortunately, in many school systems conditions do not warrant following this latter policy. Teaching services of comparable length are not always equivalent in value. A newly appointed teacher may have taught several years in a private or a non-accredited school or in a different grade or division of a school system from that to which he has been assigned in his new post. Or he may have taught in a public school where little or no leadership was provided. Frequently, prior experience is not recent or has been broken up by several years. To assume that such experience is comparable to experience in a modern public school is to ignore conditions that are known to affect efficiency. The practical question of cost also cannot be overlooked. If placing teachers on the newly established scale at steps corresponding to their experience is going to make the cost prohibitive, then obviously some compromise arrangement must be worked out. Sometimes the answer lies in the development of a formula whereby years of prior experience are recognized for only a proportion of their full amount. In one New Jersey school system a policy was established whereby newly appointed teachers were allowed credit on the salary schedule for their former experience, but, in calculating their salary, the annual increments were assumed to be the same as those granted teachers at the time the service was rendered.<sup>18</sup> In other words, if teachers in the school system to which the newly appointed teacher has just been assigned were receiving increments of \$75 per year during the years when the prior service was earned, the appointee would be given credit at the rate of \$75 for each year of prior service. This sum would be added to the scheduled minimum in determining the *starting salary*. One difficulty with this arrangement is that some salaries will not be at the levels set for the various steps until the maximum is reached.

There is probably no single answer to the problem of dealing

<sup>18</sup> Westwood, New Jersey.

tary service lies chiefly in the social desirability of such action rather than in the assumption that the experience was equivalent in value to a comparable period of service in teaching. In some cases the experience may have been highly valuable; in others it may have contributed little or nothing toward increased teaching efficiency.

Work experience is sometimes given consideration in determining placement of new teachers on a salary schedule. Usually, where this is recognized, the experience must have been gained in fields related to the area in which the teacher is to teach.

In placing newly appointed teachers on the salary schedule, the superintendent should have in his possession official written statements of authorized individuals indicating the nature and duration of prior experience. He should not rely upon the information supplied by the employee. Moreover, when a new teacher signs a contract, he should have a letter signed by the proper official advising him of the credit he is being given on the salary schedule. A copy of this letter, together with the reasons for the credit allowed, should be filed in the central office for future reference. A great deal of misunderstanding has arisen in some school systems in the past over the original placement of teachers on salary schedules. In many instances there are inadequate records or none at all to show what factors entered into the appraisal. Therefore, some record of the assessment should be available for the protection of all parties concerned.

#### EQUIVALENCY CREDIT

One of the important features of a modern salary schedule is the provision for recognizing improved qualifications. The reason for having more than one salary classification is to provide incentives for teachers to improve their professional background and skill.

Most of the early preparation-type salary schedules made promotion to a higher classification dependent upon increased preparation through formal study. Thus a schedule might have the following classifications: two years of preparation, three years, bachelor's degree, five years, or master's degree. Teachers could be easily grouped into these categories by an examination of college credentials, and relatively little time and judgment would be required to administer the schedules. Moreover in 1920, when salary sched-

Adult Education Classes: 1 unit of hurdle credit for 90 hours of laboratory work or 30 lecture hours.

Travel: Number of units determined by the Professional Standards Committee after the material is submitted by the teacher for evaluation.

Procedure:

1. In advance of the trip, plan to be presented to Committee for approval.

2. A statement of preparation, such as reading, studying of a language, etc., is presented to the Committee.

3. A statement of the contribution expected as to professional growth and development is also required.

4. Following the trip, evidence is presented in a form of the teacher's own choice to support the claim for professional growth.

The chief problems in administering the "equivalency credit" feature are to determine what experiences are worthy of recognition and how much credit to allow for varying types and amounts of experience. Several school systems have established committees to help formulate equivalency policies and to assist in their administration. There can be no doubt but that the broadening of the classifications to include a recognition of a wide variety of improvement media is a step in the right direction.

#### MERIT RATING

Merit rating is the chief bone of contention in the area of teachers' salaries, and one is apt to find more heat than light in many of the discussions of this topic. Most educators will grant the reasons for paying teachers according to the quality of their performance but will not admit the feasibility of doing it. Research has not revealed any reliable instruments for measuring teacher merit, nor have the effects of existing rating scales on teacher morale been fully assessed. A relatively small percentage of American school systems profess to pay teachers on a merit basis, and there is considerable difference of opinion among equally competent observers as to the effectiveness of existing rating schemes.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Teacher Personnel Procedures, 1950-1951: Employment Conditions in Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, April, 1952), p. 48.

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<sup>21</sup> *Teacher Personnel Procedures, 1950-1951: Employment Conditions in Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, April, 1952), p. 43.

The chief arguments advanced in support of merit salary schedules are:

1. Merit ratings are just in that every teacher is paid according to the worth of his contribution.

2. Payment according to merit keeps teachers alert and on their toes. The sluggards and the lazy are penalized and the ambitious are rewarded.

3. Merit rating makes high maximum salaries possible since not every teacher is assured of reaching the top rung of the salary ladder. The reason for low salary levels in existing schedules, so the argument runs, is that everybody advances at the same rate and school systems will not (even if they can) elevate every teacher to a high maximum salary. Hence salary levels are destined to be low in the future unless the sheep in the profession are separated from the goats and are accorded a different salary status.

4. Merit rating conforms to practices established in industry and in government service and is an accepted pattern of rewarding employees. It is conceded that, although incentive-pay plans apply to certain classes of employees in industry, the vast bulk of the labor force in America gets union wages that bear little relationship to quality of performance.

The foregoing arguments are rather convincing and the typical layman is likely to be influenced by what appears to be the common sense reasoning inherent in the viewpoint. But appearances sometimes deceive, and the benefits that theoretically might be expected to come from rating have not been realized.

Merit rating is discussed in the chapter on "In-Service Education" and the reader is referred to that discussion for a more detailed treatment of the topic. The chief reasons for not using merit rating in determining individual salaries for teachers are:

1. It is a deterrent to teacher morale since teachers lack faith both in the validity of existing rating instruments and in the reliability of the results obtained when they are used.

2. Rating devices are not appropriate for use with professional personnel, especially those engaged in activities where often no single method or procedure has been demonstrated to be right or best. Teaching, like the practice of medicine, is a complicated task; to apply a rating instrument to physicians in order to determine their skill would certainly be a questionable procedure.

3. The relationship between merit rating and the improvement of those rated has not been established, and many observers believe that the results are negative rather than positive. There is considerable logic in the argument that originality and creativeness are thwarted rather than improved through merit ratings.

4. The vast majority of "lighthouse" school systems in the United States are not using merit rating devices in determining teachers' salaries. The fact that the best school programs today are being carried on in school systems where the staff members are paid salaries according to certain easily measured, objective qualifications is evidence that merit rating is not the *sine qua non* behind teaching efficiency.

5. Merit rating is time-consuming and expensive. Either valuable leadership activities will have to be sacrificed or school systems will have to double their present administrative staffs in order to collect and interpret the information essential for securing even fairly reliable rating results.<sup>22</sup>

The acceptance of the above viewpoint does not necessarily mean that every teacher in a school system should be advanced on the salary schedule regardless of performance. Satisfactory service should be made the basis for awarding salary increments. It isn't necessary, however, to rate every teacher in a school system in order to discover the few whose work is clearly below standard in quality. The building principals, supervisors, and superintendent will all have these failing teachers called to their attention in many different ways. Where these breakdowns do occur, appraisal visits and specific documentation of deficiencies can be made and the taxpayers protected against unjustifiable salary increases. This procedure will consume far less time and energy on the part of the administrative staff than is required for periodic ratings of all teachers.

Some administrators will undoubtedly be required, for some time to come at least, to use a merit rating scheme either because the state law or a local rule of the board of education mandates it. Where such regulations exist, the superintendent should make every effort to evaluate the services of staff members in a manner that is least harmful to morale. This means that teachers should be

<sup>22</sup> See William A. McCall, *Measurement of Teacher Merit*, Publication No. 254 (Raleigh, N.C.: State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1952).

well informed regarding the nature of the regulation and the items to be included on the rating form. In short, that procedure should be followed which gives promise of doing the least harm to relationships between administrators and teachers.

Reavis and Cooper, in their study of merit rating, came to the conclusion that cumulative ratings were highly reliable and not subject to many of the weaknesses inherent in typical rating schemes.<sup>22</sup> Although the authors do not share this faith in the use of merit ratings in determining teachers' salaries, they do subscribe to the conclusion reached: that decisions arrived at through cumulative ratings are vastly superior to the highly unreliable results obtained when ratings are confined to any single year.

Students of the salary problem will do well, despite their current biases, to keep their minds open to possible discoveries in the field of teacher evaluation. There is need for much careful research and experimentation before any wholesale shift in current practices is made. Certainly the experiences with merit rating plans to date have failed to demonstrate that a sound solution lies in a move away from the traditional pattern.

To the authors the critical test to be applied should be the answer to the question: Will the total production of a teaching staff of a school system be greater with or without the incorporation of a merit principle in the salary schedule? A school system is buying services and its basic concern should be *getting the most for the money expended*. If and when this question is finally answered, there will be no further need to debate the issue of merit rating.

#### EXTRA PAY FOR EXTRA WORK

The matter of extra pay is closely related to the assignment and load topic discussed earlier. Ideally, perhaps, teaching load should be equalized and teachers should be paid their regular salaries, which are presumably designed to care for all normal assignments. Were the millennium to be achieved, coaching, sponsoring student activities, and classroom teaching would all be so planned and scheduled that teachers in all these areas would have equivalent loads and would receive comparable salaries.

<sup>22</sup> Reavis, William C., and Dan H. Cooper, "Evaluation of Teacher Merit in City School Systems," *Supplementary Educational Monographs*, No. 59 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, January, 1945).

Unfortunately, many *school systems* are not well enough staffed to permit the complete equalization of load and hence find it necessary to assign extra duties to some members of the instructional staff. Extra compensation is usually provided for this extra work. In 1951, 83 per cent of 1,615 cities reporting to the Research Division of the N.E.A. gave extra pay to athletic coaches, 53 per cent to band and choral music directors, 36 per cent to dramatics coaches, and 30 per cent to sponsors of school publications.<sup>24</sup>

Since the major pros and cons of equalizing teaching load have been discussed in the chapter on Assignment, Load, and Transfer, they will not be repeated here.

School administrators would be well advised to study the load problem in conjunction with salaries and to work out whatever arrangement seems most economical and efficient for their respective school systems. Periodic reviews of the jobs to be included in the extra-pay category are essential if morale is to be maintained. Certainly there is little justification in limiting extra pay to the three or four traditional extra-work areas mentioned above.

The Wilmington, Delaware, report of a committee studying the plan of "Compensation for Additional Duties and Responsibilities" contains a statement of the chief issues and considerations inherent in the extra-pay controversy. The principles subscribed to by the committee were as follows:

1. Equal salaries for equal teaching preparation and responsibilities—single-salary schedule.

2. That every effort should be made to equalize the teaching load in the various segments of the school system and within the particular school building by the establishment of standards for the length of the school day, time allotments for periods, number of periods to be taught by each teacher, number of pupils in each class, still keeping in mind the fundamental purposes of the particular school.

3. That despite all efforts toward equalizing teaching assignments, inequalities exist because the *modern schools' programs*—particularly those of secondary schools—embrace extra activities of a most essential and educational nature. These activities are carried on daily by specially qualified teachers in addition to their *daily teaching assignments* and beyond the time of the school day. These duties consist, for the most part, of super-

<sup>24</sup> *Teacher Personnel Procedures, 1950-1951, Employment Conditions in Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, April, 1952), p. 43.

vision of such extra-class activities as athletics, dramatics, guidance, music, and sponsoring certain important student organizations.

4. That the widely used device—namely, free periods—for equalizing teacher load, particularly with respect to those teachers who are assigned responsibilities for the above-mentioned extra-class activities, is inadequate. For example, a dramatics coach, as compensation for the after school time devoted to practice and plays, might be allowed one, two or three free periods daily. Since this time (free periods) cannot be used to advantage by the teacher, this method of compensation is obviously unsatisfactory. Likewise, the teaching time of the teacher so freed would have to be assigned to some other teacher employed for the purpose. It is apparent that this system of compensation is both unsatisfactory to the teacher and uneconomical for the Board of Education.

5. Therefore, recognizing that there are necessary differences in teaching assignments, it is believed that the most satisfactory method of recognizing such differences is by setting up a schedule of additional compensation for those carrying on additional duties.

6. The committee believes that such a policy is sound, has precedent in other lines of human endeavor, adds to the effectiveness of the total educational program, promotes better teacher morale, and adds little—relatively speaking—to the total cost of the educational program.

7. Therefore, the committee recommends a continuance, with some modifications, of the present plan of "Compensation for Additional Duties and Responsibilities."

8. In this connection, the committee further recommends that:
- A. These particular assignments should be re-studied periodically (annually) and re-evaluated with a view to adjustment of compensation either upward or downward.
  - B. If new activities of similar long and regular duration appear in any segment of the school system, these should likewise be studied from a difficulty, responsibility, and time-consuming basis, and if found to be justifiable should be added to this group.
  - C. The committee foresees the possibility of new activities arising in such quantities as to result in the extra-class activities requiring a disproportionate amount of teachers' and pupils' time, funds, and the possible impairment of the primary instructional purposes of the school. Therefore, new activities of any extensive duration should not be established until approved by the proper administrative authority.
  - D. The committee further proposes that teachers who are assigned to these special duties which are accompanied by additional compensation, be given a full load of teaching and other related educational assignments in the regular school day.
  - E. In case a teacher carries on an assignment of such specialized nature and feels that the full teaching load would be too strenuous, he or she may be released from periods in the regular school day in full or part compensation for the special duties. In such

cases, an adjustment in the amount of additional compensation, either in part or in total, will be made.

- F. Some extra activities, particularly those involving admission charges, are supervised by teachers who are compensated out of school activity funds or by being granted free periods during the school day, or both.
  - G. There are certain non-teaching assignments, such as sponsor of school traffic squad, lunch period supervision, assistance with visual education, which are compensated for by free periods.
  - H. There are many other extra activities which occur only a few times during the school year. In the judgment of the committee, these duties should be considered as a part of the assignment of all teachers with no thought of additional compensation. Such affairs would include attendance at class parties, parents' receptions, social affairs such as proms, and attendance at P.T.A. meetings, etc.
9. The committee further recommends the following scale of compensation for additional duties subject to the conditions as stated—
- A. A definite and absolute maximum that any one individual could receive regardless of duties, be set at \$700.
  - B. Those receiving additional pay for extra activities who have had no prior experience in the assigned activity should be paid on a sliding scale of 80% of the basic amount for the first year, 90% for the second year, and 100% thereafter, which would be based on experience in the particular activity.<sup>23</sup>

## SALARIES OF ADMINISTRATORS AND SUPERVISORS

Whereas salary schedules for classroom teachers are the rule rather than the exception today, the method of rewarding administrators and supervisors has been far less standardized. Of 2,157 school systems that participated in a study of principals' salaries, conducted by the Research Division of the N.E.A. in 1948-1949, only 538 or 24.6 per cent stated specifically that they had adopted definite salary schedules for principals. The remaining 1,619 school systems reported as follows:

328 had no salary schedules for professional employees.

247 did not include principals in their salary schedules.

1,074 either did not reply to the question or gave information that was either incomplete or not clear.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Excerpts from *A Report of Extra Pay made by the Employee Committee in Wilmington Public Schools* (Wilmington, Del., 1947), pp. 2-4.

<sup>24</sup> Educational Research Service, *Basic Salary Schedules for Principals in Cities over 2,500 in Population, 1948-49*, Circular No. 8. Washington: American Association of School Administrators and Research Division of the National Education Association, October, 1942.

Undoubtedly the percentage of school systems today that follow some kind of a schedule in paying principals is higher than that indicated above, but the practice is certainly far from universal. A similar condition exists with respect to the compensation of supervisors and directors. Their duties often vary widely in nature and scope and the dollar value placed on the services of this group is far from uniform. Considerably less use has been made of job analysis in attacking salary problems in public education than in business and industry. Because teachers as a group fall in one major classification and because they constitute such a large proportion of the total personnel employed by school systems, attention has been concentrated on schemes and arrangements for paying teachers rather than those designed for administrators or for noninstructional employees.

Principals and supervisors have been paid on a somewhat hit-or-miss basis. As a result there are only a few well-established principles that can be gleaned from current practice. Admittedly, the time has arrived for making a thoroughly scientific study directed toward the improvement of salary policies at the executive and supervisory levels. A few studies have been made by individuals and associations, but much still remains to be done before order is brought out of the present chaos.<sup>21</sup>

This discussion aims only to present the current picture and to point out a few of the problems and issues relating to the salaries of principals, supervisors, and superintendents of schools. Any attempt to discuss in detail the many controversial questions regarding salary practices for these administrative and supervisory officers would be beyond the scope of this book.

#### COMPENSATION OF PRINCIPALS

Current practice indicates that there are five clearly identifiable patterns employed in paying principals. These are:

1. Pay according to a teachers' salary schedule with differential stipulated for service as principal.
2. Pay principals according to school level—the lowest level

<sup>21</sup> See William K. Krum, *Planning Salary Schedules For Public School Principals* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, Unpublished Doctoral Project, 1952); also *What Should You Pay Your School Principals?* (Albany: New York State Educational Conference Board, March, 1952).

3. What relationship should the principal's salary bear to the salaries established for teachers?

Since the most commonly used pattern of compensating principals is to provide a differential beyond the regular classroom teachers' schedule, this last question is especially relevant. Few if any would question the relative importance of the two jobs in reaching conclusions about salary. Certainly the school principal has greater responsibilities; his duties are usually more time-consuming and the type of leadership ability required is superior to that expected of classroom teachers. But the logic of paying principals according to the salary schedule established for teachers and arbitrarily fixing a differential to cover his duties as principal is open to question. In the first place the two jobs are as different (except where teaching principals are employed) as any two jobs imaginable. It would seem just as reasonable to pay the manager of a big department store according to the wages paid sales clerks plus a bonus for his responsibilities as manager, as to pay school principals according to the teachers' salary schedule with a differential for added responsibilities.

The arguments for separate schedules for nonteaching principals seem to the authors, at least, to weigh more heavily than those advanced in support of existing arrangements.

4. How many increments should be provided in the principals' salary schedule? There is no single answer to this question that can be defended as superior to all others. There are certain common-sense considerations however that do apply. Most principals have had teaching experience and, when appointed, they are significantly older as a group than beginning teachers. It is obvious, therefore, that the span of increments provided should be shorter for principals than for teachers. Presumably, school principals also bring to their positions of leadership a greater knowledge and skill than do newly appointed teachers. Hence there is less need for the type of incentive plan that characterizes teachers' salary schedules. This is not intended to suggest that principals should not be classified according to preparation. But it does point to the conclusion that a much more abbreviated schedule than that established for teachers is better suited to the needs of the principalship group. In 1952, one study committee recommended that the schedule for principals should not contain more than five increment steps in any one classi-

fication.<sup>28</sup> Although the number five seems to have been hit upon rather arbitrarily and is perhaps no more defensible than six or seven or some smaller number, it is interesting to note that it did represent the judgment of a study committee.

An analysis of salary schedule features in city school systems will reveal wide variations in the number of increments in principals' schedules. It is worth noting, however, that a substantial number of large city school systems have established six or less increments for school principals.<sup>29</sup>

#### HAVE PRINCIPALS' SALARIES KEPT PACE WITH SALARIES PAID OTHER SCHOOL EMPLOYEES?

One rough measure that has been applied in recent years to the salaries of administrators is a comparison of current salaries with those paid in 1940. Most groups of principals have not fared too well in comparison with the improvements made in teachers' salaries. The data in Table 4 were reported in a bulletin dealing with the salaries reported by urban school employees for 1952-1953.

TABLE 4

MEDIAN SALARIES PAID SUPERVISING PRINCIPALS AND CLASSROOM  
TEACHERS IN CITY SCHOOL SYSTEMS 1940-1941 AND 1952-1953

Type of School	Population 30,000-100,000			Population 100,000-500,000			Over 500,000			Per cent in crease
	1940-41	1952-53	Per cent Increase	1940-41	1952-53	Per cent Increase	1940-41	1952-53	Per cent Increase	
Principals										
Elementary	\$2470	\$5316	115.2	\$2948	\$5703	93.5	\$3966	\$7305	84.2	
Junior High	\$3175	\$5848	84.2	\$3761	\$6220	65.4	\$5134	\$7773	51.4	
Senior High	\$4000	\$6523	63.1	\$4183	\$6892	64.8	\$5412	\$9156	69.2	
Classroom Teachers	\$1763	\$3898	121.1	\$2029	\$3932	93.8	\$2708	\$4953	82.9	

Source: National Education Association, *Salaries and Salary Schedules of Urban School Employees, 1952-1953*, Research Bulletin, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, April, 1953, pp. 72-74.

<sup>28</sup> What Should You Pay Your School Principals? p. 10.

<sup>29</sup> See N.E.A. Educational Research Service, *Salary Schedules for Principals*, Washington, D.C., Circular No. 3, 1952 (Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Long Beach, California; Chicago, Illinois; Cincinnati and Dayton, Ohio; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Denver, Colorado; Fort Wayne, Indiana; Portland, Oregon, and Richmond, Virginia).

It will be observed from Table 4 that the percentage increases in salaries paid elementary principals have closely paralleled those awarded classroom teachers in all population groups and that the gains in salaries made by junior and senior high school principals are substantially less than those achieved by classroom teachers and by elementary school principals. The salaries of most groups, when compared with the increase in the consumer price index, leaves individual employees in a less favorable economic position in 1953 than they enjoyed in 1940.

In interpreting the statistics shown in Table 4, several questions can logically be raised. Is it desirable for principals to keep the relative economic positions which they held in 1940 or is it perhaps better to advance the status of elementary principals in the existing hierarchy? What is responsible for the relatively poor showing of large cities in improving the salary status of principals? Is this due to lack of financial ability or to public apathy or to a combination of factors?

In the absence of conclusive objective evidence as to just what the salary levels of principals should be, school systems would do well to approach the problem from a number of angles. There is value in inquiring what comparable school systems are paying principals and in comparing the local situation with practices used elsewhere. There are advantages also in inquiring what it costs to maintain a professional standard of living in the local community, taking full account of the leadership role that principals are expected to play. Certainly the principal's job should be assessed periodically and his responsibilities reviewed, so that standards appropriate to the current demands of the job are fully appreciated and qualified personnel selected to fill vacancies. To the degree that it is possible to obtain data on the salaries of executives in business and industry—where duties are comparable in nature—this should be done.

A similar line of reasoning to that just presented applies to the determination of the salaries of supervisors and directors. The first step is job analysis and classification. The second is the determination of the relative value to be placed on the jobs under consideration, using classroom teachers as the base. The third and last step is establishing the ranges and increment provisions for each major classification. The determination of salary levels for supervisory per-

sonnel is a complicated and time-consuming task and can best be undertaken by an outside salary consultant. Central office employees in the typical city school system are highly sensitive regarding their status roles and frequently quite incapable of assessing their own as well as their colleagues' assignments objectively. To carry on an impartial study, it is almost imperative that some outside help be secured.

#### DETERMINING THE PAY OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

As early as 1909, Samuel P. Orth, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* about the position of school superintendent, had this to say, "The position of superintendent of schools is unique and anomalous. It demands the learning of a college president, the consecration of a clergyman, the wisdom of a judge, the executive talents of a financier, the patience of a church janitor, the humility of a deacon, and the craftiness of a politician."<sup>20</sup>

It is obvious that any position which demands that the holder possess this combination of qualities should be accorded a high salary status. The public, however, has not always been appreciative of the wide variety of duties which a superintendent of schools is expected to perform and consequently has not dealt as generously with him as his heavy responsibilities appear to warrant.

A few facts may help to portray just how well the city superintendent of schools is faring. In 1952-1953, the median salary of superintendents of schools in cities of 30,000 to 100,000 population was \$10,290; in cities of 100,000 to 500,000 the median salary was \$13,000; in cities over 500,000 it was \$18,352.<sup>21</sup> The highest salary reported currently is \$32,500.

As might well be expected, salaries of superintendents appear to be related to size of community; the larger the city the greater the salary. The facts for small, wealthy metropolitan area districts may show that this trend does not follow to the same degree in communities under 30,000, since wealth also apparently constitutes an important consideration in salary determination.

<sup>20</sup> Samuel P. Orth, "Plain Facts About Public Schools," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 103, No. 3, March, 1909, p. 290.

<sup>21</sup> *Salaries and Salary Schedules of Urban School Employees, 1952-1953*, pp. 72-74.

Another pertinent factor in assessing salary levels of superintendents of schools is the degree to which they have changed since 1940. The increases, stated in actual dollars and in percentages, are as follows:<sup>22</sup>

<i>Superintendents in Cities of</i>	<i>1940-1941</i>	<i>1952-1953</i>	<i>Per cent Increase</i>
10,000 to 30,000	\$4,693	\$8,053	71.6
30,000 to 100,000	\$6,116	\$10,290	68.2
100,000 to 500,000	\$8,237	\$13,000	57.8
Over 500,000	\$13,200	\$18,382	39.3

It will be clear to anyone acquainted with the marked rise in the Consumer Price Index that, relatively, most superintendents of schools were not as well off in 1953 as they were in 1940. The old index stood at 192.6 in September of 1953. Since the cost of living in 1935-1939 constitutes a base of 100, the disparity between salary increases in any of the classifications enumerated and the rise in consumer prices is great, even when correction is made for using 1940 as the base salary year. In other words, superintendents of schools were substantially better off, as far as buying power is concerned, in 1940 than they are today.

Classroom teachers also appear to have outdistanced superintendents since 1940. Whereas the salaries of the former advanced by 82.9 to 121.1 per cent depending on size of city, the highest increase in median salaries of superintendents for any of the foregoing population groups was 71.6 per cent. The data presented earlier on principals' salaries indicates that, in general, elementary school principals have fared relatively better in recent years than the chief school executive.

One fairly common measure applied in assessing salary levels is to examine the index of relationship between the salaries of teachers and the salary of the superintendent of schools. In city school systems in 1952-1953, the following relationships obtained between the median salaries paid to superintendents of schools and those paid to elementary school teachers. Using 100 as the index for elementary teachers' salaries, the index figures for superintendents for the various population groups were:

382 for cities of over 500,000 population  
346 for cities of over 100,000 population

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72-76.

279	for cities of 30,000 to 100,000 population
234	for cities of 10,000 to 30,000 population
213	for cities of 5,000 to 10,000 population
194	for cities of 2,500 to 5,000 population

Very few cities have set salary schedules for superintendents. Many school boards do issue contracts for a three- or four-year term, with salary provisions stipulated. The salary levels, however, are not usually established for the position but vary with the individual appointed. There is considerable merit in allowing some flexibility in superintendents' salaries to care for differences in experience and market conditions. Since salary policies must inevitably be reviewed when a new contract is signed, there is no reason to believe that superintendents would lose anything if this procedure were followed.

Undoubtedly, the most difficult question to answer about the superintendent's salary is, "How much should he be paid?"

In 1949, the Michigan Association of School Administrators endorsed the use of the Haisley formula for determining the superintendent's salary. This formula was made up of six factors of varying weights. The items included:

1. A base index number of one to be credited to the superintendent indicating a minimum status equal to that of a teacher at maximum salary.
2. A measure of the size of the school system in terms of pupil membership. (The range in membership extends from less than 1,000 to 100,000 pupils and up, and the weights given range from .4 to 1.6)
3. Size and responsibility of the job represented by the number of teachers employed (school systems employing 15-125 teachers to be given credit of .2; 125-600 to be assigned .3; 600 and above to be given credit of .4).
4. The wealth of the community (for each \$1 million of assessed valuation up to \$10 million—the weight given to be .005; for each million beyond 10 and up to \$400 million—a weight of .001).
5. Amount of state and federal money received by local school districts (for each \$25,000 or portion thereof up to \$200,000, a weight of .005; for each \$100,000 thereafter up to \$1 million, .005; for each million of the next \$10 million, .002).
6. Personal qualifications of superintendent (judgment of the board expressed on rating scale of their own ranging from good to excellent—.05 to 1).<sup>22</sup>

- Teacher Personnel Procedures, 1950-51: Employment Conditions in Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 38-50. Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, April, 1952.
- Teachers in the Public Schools*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 137-143. Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, December, 1949.
- What Should You Pay Your School Principals?*, Albany, N. Y.: New York State Educational Conference Board, 1952.
- What To Pay Your Superintendent*, p. 8. Washington: American Association of School Administrators and the National School Boards Association, September, 1952.

## 7 LEAVES OF ABSENCE

An integral part of a staff personnel program is adequate provision for absences. Regulations in this area, as in all other aspects of staff personnel administration, should be motivated by the prime goal of providing better education for children. In terms of leaves of absence for teachers, policies not only should aim to keep out of classrooms teachers who might spread diseases to their pupils and those who are too ill to carry out their functions, but they should assure that those teaching at a given time are in the best physical and mental health possible. Thus, psychological factors of morale must be considered together with factors of physical health, and intangibles recognized along with costs and ease of administration.

Excused absences may be classified in many ways. One way of looking at them is as follows: (1) leaves for reasons of health (sick leave), (2) leaves for maternity, (3) leaves for personal reasons, (4) leaves for professional reasons. Leaves in different states and school districts are granted under varying circumstances for varying lengths of time with varying plans of compensation.

### SICK LEAVE

By far the most common type of leave provision concerns personal illness or injury. Although studies are not definitive, they tend to show that teachers as a whole enjoy slightly better physical health than does the average person. There has been a trend towards the requirement of good health as a prerequisite for teaching certificates. Furthermore, at midcentury more than half of the cities over 30,000 in population required applicants for teaching positions to

pass physical examinations.<sup>1</sup> Some school boards require periodic medical examinations for their employees.

The principle of granting teachers sick leave with pay is well established. In 1931, 67 per cent of city<sup>2</sup> school systems granted some sick leave with full pay. The comparable figure rose to 78 per cent in 1941 and to 95 per cent in 1951.<sup>3</sup> In 1951 the only classification of cities to vary significantly from the average was the category comprising those of over 500,000 population, of which only 75 per cent granted some sick leave with full pay. For all cities the median number of sick leave days granted annually at full salary was eleven.

Details of practices relative to sick leave differ markedly. Some of those systems granting a specified number of days leave with full pay supplement this leave with a certain number of days at part pay. Partial salary payments are usually fixed at half pay or at full pay less the salary of a substitute. The few school districts that provide no days of absence at full pay commonly utilize either of these methods to compensate teachers during illness. In most of the latter instances the maximum number of days a teacher may be absent during a year is very high. In 1951, for example, teachers could be paid half salary for one hundred days lost because of illness in Los Angeles and for a year's absence due to illness in Boston.

A study by Kuhlman of absences of more than five thousand teachers in thirteen cities showed that an annual sick leave of ten days would cover on the average 87 per cent of teachers but only 45 per cent of the total days of absence.<sup>4</sup> The most common method of caring for the extended absences involving relatively few persons but large numbers of days is the so-called "cumulative plan." Under this plan unused days of absence may be accumulated from year to year and used at the time of a prolonged illness. Usually a maximum total of accumulated days is specified, and sometimes an annual maximum is set. The cumulative plan has spread at a rapid pace. In

<sup>1</sup> *Teacher Personnel Practices, 1950-51: Appointment and Termination of Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, February, 1952), p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> "Cities" have a minimum population of 2,500.

<sup>3</sup> *Teacher Personnel Procedures, 1950-51: Employment Conditions in Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, April, 1952), p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> William D. Kuhlman, *Teacher Absence and Leave Regulations*, p. 29 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933).

1941, 33 per cent of city school systems employed it, whereas in 1951, 84 per cent of such systems did so.<sup>5</sup>

From some points of view the cumulative feature is not entirely desirable. Since sick leave days may be "stored," there is a tendency for some teachers, during minor illnesses or the early stages of more serious diseases, or before they have completely recovered from an illness, to return to the classroom so as not to use up leave days which might be needed later. Such a situation, of course, is exactly what sick leave is designed to prevent—the presence in the classroom of an ill teacher. Some students of the problem maintain also that such a plan favors those with long service, who should be rewarded in other ways than through generous sick leave provisions. They further point out that the system benefits the healthy person, also not the proper function of a sick leave plan.

On other bases, however, the cumulative plan has distinct advantages. It gives the teacher a feeling of security against an illness which might exceed the annual sick leave allowance. It affords such leave as a sort of "right" rather than "privilege" so far as the board of education is concerned. Also it is on a personal basis, so that neither the leave nor the salary of any other teacher will be at all impaired by an individual's illness. Most alternatives to the cumulative plan for caring for relatively long periods of incapacitation do not satisfactorily cover these essentially psychological factors. Moreover, the cumulative plan is easy to administer. It also may tend to prevent the not unknown abuse of sick leave provisions—taking leave for very minor ailments (or even for personal reasons not related to health). In plans where the leave is "lost" when not used within a specified period, the aforementioned practice becomes more enticing.

Preventing abuse of sick leave provisions is a responsibility of the superintendent. Even though it would not be necessary for the overwhelming majority of teachers, it is wise to establish a framework for checking on the few and satisfying the taxpayers. Requiring a statement from the individual's physician is the procedure most frequently used. It seems to the authors that such a certificate should not be required for absences not exceeding a school week in length, unless the teacher in question has a poor attendance rec-

<sup>5</sup> *Teacher Personnel Procedures, 1950-51: Employment Conditions in Service*, pp. 52-53.

ord and there is reason to suspect malingering. To demand a doctor's statement for brief absences puts an extra and unnecessary financial burden on the teacher who may be too ill to come to school and associate with children but not sick enough to warrant calling a physician. If a certificate is required for one- or two-day absences which do not require medical care, much of the sick leave pay is used to cover the fee of the doctor writing the statement, and the teacher does not get the financial benefit of the leave.

When a sick leave plan is being initiated or revised, the problem of credit for prior service arises. To begin abruptly to grant a number of days of sick leave each year on a cumulative basis without such credit tends to place at a disadvantage older teachers who have had good absence records over a period of many years. A fair way of handling the matter would be to credit all teachers at the time of initiation of the system with a reserve of days based on their absence records during the preceding five years.

In many school systems forms of group health and hospitalization insurance are made available to staff members. Such programs as a rule are on a voluntary basis and are supported by the participants, often through teachers' associations. Official cooperation, such as providing for payroll deductions to cover membership fees, is frequently present, and sometimes the board pays part of the premiums.\* Such plans, however, should not be thought of as substitutes for adequate sick leave policies. Costs of sick leave should be borne entirely by the school system. Typically, also, group insurance policies covering sickness do not afford any benefits until after a specified period of absence, often a week.

In case of injuries sustained in line of duty, teachers in about half of the states are entitled to benefits under workmen's compensation laws. These laws are quite dissimilar in details, but they make provisions for medical and hospital aid and for allowances while incapacitated by duty-connected injury, with costs assessed against employers only. In some states teachers must be covered, in others coverage is optional with the local employer, and in some most teachers are excluded because only hazardous positions are covered, so that shop teachers but not academic teachers would be eligible.

\* In some states, boards of education are prohibited from paying premiums for such types of insurance for their employees.

A pronounced recent trend has been the enactment of state laws pertaining to sick leave for teachers. Traditionally the matter had been left entirely in the hands of local school boards. Since the late forties, however, many states have enacted laws prescribing minimum sick leave arrangements for teachers. These laws undoubtedly have contributed to the earlier cited rise in per cent of cities granting sick leave with pay. Their greatest impact, however, has been in rural areas.

### MATERNITY LEAVE

Until relatively recently, maternity leave was not of much concern to many school boards because of the wide-spread idea that married women in general should not be employed as teachers and that it was even less desirable to employ mothers. With the breaking down of this point of view came the need to consider leaves for childbirth. In 1951, half of the cities granted leave for maternity.<sup>7</sup> The prevalence of the practice, however, decreased markedly as the size of the city decreased.

Although leaves for maternity may be more difficult to administer than other types, they are an integral part of a leave program. Without such provisions married women teachers are subject to unwarranted restrictions. A woman should not be forced to decide between motherhood and a teaching position, and school personnel policies should not be used as a means of enforcing questionable social mores. Although provisions for maternity leave must be designed so as not to discriminate against married women teachers, yet these teachers should not be afforded privileges to the disadvantage of the pupils or of other teachers.

Most regulations on the subject provide that application for maternity leave be made at a specified period before confinement. Under normal circumstances it would be a moral obligation of a teacher to notify the administration as soon as pregnancy is established. Waiting until the deadline to apply for maternity leave makes more difficult the adjustment in the school to cover the teacher's absence. Usually rules state minimum and maximum periods that the teacher may remain out after the birth of the child. In many instances a physician responsible to the board of education

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

must examine the teacher to determine her physical fitness to reassume her teaching duties. Unless a maximum period is specified, after which the board is not required to reemploy the teacher, the administrator is hampered in future planning. It would be administratively wise to stipulate that a teacher file a notice of intention to return to service at least a month in advance; otherwise, the administrator would not know officially when, or even if, the teacher planned to resume teaching. In case of unusual circumstances, such as miscarriage, death of the baby, or complications in the condition of the mother, special arrangements should be made by the board on the advice of a physician and the recommendation of the superintendent.

Problems concerning rights of teachers returning from maternity leave often can be anticipated and covered explicitly in rules. Policies regarding such items as tenure, salary, retirement, and position assigned need to be delineated. Often maternity leave privileges are afforded only to tenure teachers or after a certain number of years service in the system. Such a provision seems reasonable if the stipulated period of service is not too long. Tenure rights generally are unimpaired by maternity leave. Such leave is universally without pay, and the usual practice is to reinstate a returning teacher at the salary step occupied prior to the absence. Regarding retirement, one plan equitable for all interested parties would allow maternity leaves to count as service for eligibility for retirement, but not have the pension portion of the retirement allowance credit such periods. It would not be feasible to guarantee a teacher taking maternity leave the privilege of returning to a particular position. Every effort, of course, should be made to give her an assignment according to her desires and qualifications.

### LEAVE FOR PERSONAL REASONS

Absence with pay for some personal reasons other than illness and maternity is possible in most school systems. Almost all districts make allowances for death in the immediate family. Illness in the immediate family is excuse for absence in many systems. About half allow pay for time lost answering court summonses. Some permit brief leaves for religious observances. A few districts specify such reasons as family weddings, quarantine, graduations of family mem-

bers, moving to a different residence, and "emergencies." Absences with pay for the type of reason illustrated above present administrative difficulties in the area of morale beyond those involved in sick leave. To prevent a teacher from being absent for a good personal cause is harmful to his morale; to allow too many kinds of paid absence, for which some teachers will seldom or never be eligible, is equally unwise.

One method of handling such absences is to tie them in with sick leave, so that the possible number of days of paid sick leave is reduced by those days taken off for other acceptable reasons. The authors do not favor this plan, although the ease of administration is recognized. They believe that sick leave should be kept distinct from other types of leave because the rationale for sick leave is so different from that for other types of leave. Another procedure is to list all reasons for excused paid absence with maximum allowable periods for each. A variant of this method is to lump all nonsick and nonprofessional absences together and place a maximum on the category. The authors favor the latter plan, if examples of acceptable reasons are listed and if some provision is made for leeway to cover both reasons for and length of such leaves.

### LEAVE FOR PROFESSIONAL REASONS

<sup>1</sup> Short-term paid absences for attending educational meetings, visiting schools, or engaging in other approved professional activities are generally provided for in leave rules or are considered acceptable without formalization. In some areas attendance at meetings is compulsory, and school is dismissed for the day. The 1951 survey mentioned before found that about nine out of ten city school systems paid for some absences due to attendance at educational meetings, and almost three out of four did so for visiting other schools.<sup>6</sup> Since the purpose of such leaves is to improve the quality of instruction in the schools, careful matching of activities and of persons must be made. If possible, the staff as a whole should be involved in planning a program to utilize brief periods of absence to the best advantage of all concerned. There should, of course, be freedom of choice for the individual so far as feasible, but unless the leave is to be purposefully used, it should not be granted.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Extended leaves for professional reasons, relatively common on the college level, are not very prevalent for public school teachers. These leaves are often called sabbatical leaves, a highly deceptive term so far as public school personnel are concerned. Although in 1951, 60 per cent of cities were reported to grant such leaves (the practice being more common in larger cities)<sup>9</sup>, the figure is misleading. Conditions surrounding such leaves generally are such that the vast majority of teachers cannot take advantage of them. The prevailing practice is to award no pay. Where some pay is available it is usually the salary of the person on leave minus that of a substitute, so that, unless a teacher were high on the salary schedule, his income while on sabbatical leave would be very small. In many instances ceilings are placed on the percentage of teachers who can be on such leave at one time. If, as is frequently the case, only 1 or 2 per cent of a staff can be gone during any year, the granting of one leave to each teacher would take an absurdly long period of time. Studies have shown, however, that only a small per cent of those eligible for sabbatical leaves actually apply for them, primarily because most teachers cannot afford them.

Policies regarding leaves of a semester or a year for professional growth need to be studied carefully both in theory and practice. Here is an example of a personnel policy that seems to have great possibilities but is not gaining very rapidly in practice. Some figures even indicate that its prevalence may be decreasing slightly. The benefit of sabbatical leaves to the individuals having them is recognized rather generally. To gain acceptance for the idea, however, it must be demonstrated that the granting of such leaves, particularly with pay, will improve the educational program of a school district to an extent worthy of the trouble and expense.

The authors believe extended leaves with favorable salary arrangements can bring overwhelming dividends to a school system if proper provisions are made for deciding the kinds of leave-activities acceptable, for determining which requests should be granted each year, and for assuring that the teachers given leaves with pay return to the system for a minimum period so that the curriculum can profit from their experiences. Much attention must be given to the first two considerations, for they constitute pivotal points in the success of a sabbatical leave program. Some school systems have found it a

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

good practice to have a committee including teacher representatives deal with these aspects. Study at a university is a generally approved way of spending a sabbatical leave, and under certain circumstances travel may be accepted. A regulation requiring a minimum period of service in the district after an extended leave with pay seems appropriate. If the teacher chooses not to return, he has to refund any pay received while on leave. Such a regulation is not completely desirable in the big picture of education, for if a teacher qualifies himself, while on leave, for a position with more responsibility in another school system, there is a loss if he must revert to the school district from which he received leave. Yet the purpose of sabbatical leaves is not to reward past service, but to prepare for higher level future service; and it is not feasible to ask one local school board to pay a teacher who is on a leave preparing himself for service in another school district.

Sabbatical leaves have been almost completely the result of local board rules rather than of state laws. Several states have permissive legislation, but none grants teachers the right to sabbatical leave as some laws grant them the right to sick leave. Pennsylvania goes further than most states and gives teachers a limited right to leaves for study, travel, restoration of health, or other approved reasons. School boards must permit at least 10 per cent of their eligible teachers to be on leave at one time. Eligibility is established by ten years teaching in the state, at least five of which must be consecutive in the system granting the leave. Pay while on leave is on a basis of half-salary up to a maximum. One year's service in the granting district after the leave is required. A teacher becomes eligible for subsequent leaves after every seven years.

### ESTABLISHING LEAVE POLICIES

The preceding discussion has revealed some unresolved problems so far as leaves of absence are concerned. There is need for study as well as for discussion in this area. The authors believe that each of four types of leave—sick, maternity, personal, and sabbatical—should be handled separately because of differences in purpose. Desired ends need to be defined clearly so that policies for their achievement may evolve. Steps in the direction of liberalizing leave policies should be looked upon favorably. Good leave arrange-

ments can be made to compensate to some extent for unfavorable salaries. This does not mean that generous absence arrangements should be considered a substitute for adequate salaries. Such "fringe benefits" as leaves should serve only as supplements, but as such they are especially important for employees in the public service where direct material rewards seem destined to lag. It has been estimated that an adequate sick leave program can be established at a cost of well under 2 per cent of the salary budget, and personal leaves at under 1 per cent. Maternity leaves involve no direct costs, nor do sabbatical leaves if granted on a basis of full pay less cost of substitute. Hence, cost of an adequate leave program is relatively slight.

Particular attention needs to be given to extended leaves for professional growth. This seems to be a fertile field for cooperative research and experimentation by school systems and universities. Leaves might be tied in with fellowships. Advanced graduate students seeking practical experience might be utilized by school systems having staff members away on sabbatical leaves. There are many possibilities. Course-taking at universities, however, should not be accentuated at the expense of other possible kinds of professional growth. Yet, extreme care must be taken to see that sabbatical leave experiences are valuable both to the individual and the system. Records and reports on sabbatical leave activities have a place, but they should not be too formalized.

It seems unlikely that really satisfactory leave salaries will be provided in the near future so that all eligible teachers can take advantage of extended professional leaves. As indicated previously, leaves without salary or with only a small fraction of salary, while commendable as a start, fail to meet the situation. They make personal financial status an implicit criterion for the selection of those to go on sabbatical leaves. Potential profit to the school system from granting a leave should be the determining factor, but it cannot be unless it is made financially possible for any teacher to enjoy such a leave. As a step toward the ideal situation the authors suggest that eligibility for sabbatical leaves be established by a number of years of satisfactory service, that such leaves be approved by the board at *regular salary less cost of a substitute*, and, further, that the board with the help of the staff select, on a basis of unusual potential value, some teachers to be granted prolonged

leaves at full or almost full pay. All teachers would have a limited right to the first type of leave; the second type would be a high-order privilege that would be accompanied by considerably increased obligations to the school district. The state might give increased attention to the financial problems for both teachers and local districts inherent in the matter of extended paid leaves for professional improvement. Some of the difficulties would seem to be more easily resolved on a state basis.

The leave policy of a school system should be in writing and should be clear and definite. It is inadvisable, however, to erase all administrative discretion. Some leeway should be left to care for individual cases. This caution is particularly pertinent in relation to very short and very long absences. Building principals should be given the authority to excuse lateness or to permit teachers occasionally to leave early without requiring written reports or causing loss of pay. During special cases of long illness the board may wish to grant more than the prescribed number of days with pay. Also it may desire in special instances to give some extended leaves without pay but with guarantee of reemployment.

### SUBSTITUTE TEACHERS

Unfortunately not much attention has been given to study of the problems involved in providing adequate substitutes for regular teachers absent from the classroom. In too many districts substitutes are regarded more as second-class teachers than as important members of the education team. A necessary concomitant of a plan for leaves of absence is a procedure for substitute service. (Substitutes are needed, of course, even in the absence of an adequate leave plan.)

The goal of substitute service is to replace each absent teacher with a person capable of carrying on the educational program with as little loss to the students as possible. This implies that the substitute must be both competent and readily available, a difficult combination of prerequisites for one offered work on an irregular basis. The reasons prompting the vast majority of fully qualified potential substitute teachers not to seek regular positions would undoubtedly keep them from being always ready for temporary work. Also, salaries for substitutes in many areas are not high enough to

warrant their being constantly prepared to accept an assignment. Working conditions other than wages often leave much to be desired. Lack of orientation to the job to be filled and failure of principals and teachers to help an unfamiliar substitute feel comfortable are not uncommon. Such situations are not conducive to good substitute programs.

Administering substitute service is made difficult not only by the dearth of qualified persons, but also by the impossibility of predicting need from day to day on the various levels of the school system and in the scattered buildings. In case of illness or personal emergency very little time elapses between the moment it becomes known that the absence will occur and the time the substitute should be on duty. In some school systems the process of getting substitutes into vacant classrooms is centralized; that is, one person is responsible for compiling lists of substitutes and making necessary arrangements for the whole system each day. Other districts decentralize the function to the principals, who follow essentially the same procedure for their individual buildings. The centralized method has the prime advantages of providing better distribution of substitutes among the schools, preventing competition among schools in obtaining substitutes, and relieving principals of a time-consuming and bothersome task. The decentralized approach has the advantages of giving principals an opportunity to select substitutes with whose work they are familiar, making it possible for substitutes to get details of the vacancy before the arrival at the school, and possibly recruiting into temporary service for a particular school some who would not register formally in a city-wide plan.

Most school systems hire substitutes on a day-to-day basis. A fixed sum is paid for each day's service and no other benefits accrue. In some places the per diem rate is flexible to some extent. Particularly in larger cities some teachers are employed as long-term substitutes primarily to fill extended vacancies. Such substitutes may be paid on a per annum basis. Chicago has experimented with a plan for hiring full-time teachers without specific classroom assignments to be used as substitutes. One category includes teachers holding regular certificates who receive all the benefits they would receive if assigned to a definite school. Another group of full-time substitutes-at-large consists of those meeting requirements

for temporary certificates. They are paid the minimum annual salary and used where needed for a period of one year, during which time they are expected to meet the requirements for a regular certificate.

Attention to problems of improving substitute service is needed on two major fronts: providing better over-all working conditions, and providing better professional articulation between substitutes and the educational program of the school system. Salaries for substitutes should be high enough to attract capable people. If they are low, it is unreasonable to expect a high level of operation. Per diem rates graduated to recognize competence and service are appropriate. Such criteria should also determine general priority of employment in covering absences. Consideration should be given to granting all substitute teachers coverage by social security. Since they are excluded from retirement plans, they are eligible for social security under 1950 amendments to the federal law, if the state enters into a compact with the federal government. This procedure would have no bearing on regular teachers but would be helpful to substitutes. Long-term temporary teachers might well be granted some sick-leave privileges. The administration should devise methods for keeping records of the quality of work and the strengths and weaknesses of each substitute, so that his talents may be utilized to the fullest possible extent.

Problems relative to involving substitutes in the school program are more complex. Some school systems have issued information bulletins for substitutes. Others invite potential substitutes to visit schools in which they may be assigned. When a temporary teacher first serves in a school he should be given a brief orientation which would be expanded on each successive day in the school. A committee of teachers that would help substitutes get acquainted with professional as well as routine matters would be of value. Individual teachers could help immensely by keeping up-to-date records of activities, which could be utilized in their absence. Definite efforts should be made to build up within the student body a desire to help substitutes, rather than to hait them. Substitute teachers can be much more than "necessary evils"; they can make definite and important contributions if care is taken to provide the proper environment.

## RELATED READINGS

- Educational Research Service, *Leaves of Absence Regulations for Teachers in 447 School Systems, 1950-51*, Circular No. 5. Washington: American Association of School Administrators and Research Division of the National Education Association, June, 1952.
- Teacher Personnel Procedures, 1950-51: Employment Conditions in Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 2. Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, April, 1952, Chapter 3.
- Remmlein, Madaline Kinter, *School Law*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950, Chapters 7, 10.

## — 8 — TENURE

It is now a generally accepted psychological principle that for a person to operate at his maximum potential, a sense of security is needed. One aspect of security involves freedom from worry over loss of one's job despite efficient performance. Until relatively recently teachers as a group have not enjoyed a high degree of such assurance, and as the 1950's get well under way a large proportion still does not. So long as a reasonable amount of security is lacking, teachers cannot do their best work, and the education enterprise, and with it the nation, suffers. The main argument, then, for granting security to satisfactory teachers is that the quality of education is thereby improved. By relieving them of anxiety over retention, they are of course personally benefited, but in theory this aspect is subordinate to the other.

### TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT

Teachers operate under four general kinds of conditions regarding termination of employment. The *annual contract* provides the least protection, for if it is not renewed at the end of a year, the teacher has no redress whatsoever. Somewhat more security is derived from *contracts for longer periods*. In this case the benefit lies in the reduction of the frequency of periods of uncertainty regarding renewal. At the end of a contract period a teacher under a longer term contract has no more legal redress against nonrenewal than one under an annual contract. A *third arrangement*, known as a *continuing contract*, provides a date by which a teacher must be notified that he will not be retained the following year. In the absence of notice by the specified date, his contract is automatically extended one year. Since the date is usually in the spring (although sometimes earlier or later) this arrangement is often des-

ignated as a "spring notification" type of contract. Like the other two, this condition provides a teacher no legal basis for complaint regarding nonrenewal. The advantage of a continuing contract over the other plans lies solely in the fact that the teacher has more time to look for another position. The fourth arrangement is known as "protective tenure," "indefinite tenure," "permanent tenure," or simply *tenure*. This type includes all varieties of laws which afford certain protections against removal, regardless of what the provisions are called locally. In some statutes the words "continuing contract" are used to describe a protective law, but in this discussion such laws are called "tenure" laws to avoid semantic difficulties, and "continuing contract" is reserved for its more common usage in reference to spring notification laws.

### MEANING OF TENURE

The word "tenure" in its original meaning pertains to the conditions under which, or the term for which, a position is held. In the field of education "tenure" has tended to take on a more specific and technical meaning. It is correctly used to describe a procedure which must be followed before a dismissal can occur. This procedure includes at least three major elements: (1) a timely notice that dismissal is contemplated, (2) a statement pointing out the charges, and (3) a hearing in which the accused has the right to defend himself. The better tenure laws provide a definite channel through which the teacher can appeal an adverse decision, but since some redress generally is available through the courts if the law prescribes the above three conditions, a statute can be placed in the tenure category without specifically mentioning appeal.

### REASONS FOR TENURE

The reasons offered in support of tenure are numerous. The National Education Association's Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom lists the following:

1. To protect classroom teachers and other members of the teaching profession against unjust dismissal of any kind—political, religious, or personal.
2. To prevent the management or domination of the schools by politi-

TABLE 5

## PROVISIONS FOR TERMINATING TEACHER EMPLOYMENT IN STATE LAWS IN 1953

<i>Statewide tenure</i>	<i>Some districts tenure; others continuing contract</i>	<i>Some districts tenure; others neither tenure nor continuing contract</i>	<i>Statewide continuing contract</i>	<i>No state man- dated tenure or continuing contract</i>
Alabama	Connecticut	California	Arkansas	Idaho
Arizona	Illinois	Colorado	Delaware	Mississippi
Florida	Indiana	Georgia	Maine	Oklahoma
Iowa	Kansas	Michigan	Nevada	Texas
Kentucky	Missouri	New Hampshire	North Dakota	Utah
Louisiana	Nebraska	New York	South Dakota	Vermont
Maryland	North Carolina	Ohio	Washington	Virginia
Massachusetts	Oregon			Wyoming
Minnesota	South Carolina			
Montana	Wisconsin			
New Jersey				
New Mexico				
Pennsylvania				
Rhode Island				
Tennessee				
West Virginia				

comparable figure was fifteen. By 1936 only four states had statewide tenure, by 1947 the number had grown only to nine, but in 1953 the figure stood at sixteen. (See Table 6.)

Another indication of the extent of tenure coverage is that during the school year 1950-1951 tenure protection was afforded to the teachers in 94 per cent of the cities with population 500,000 and over, in 72 per cent of the cities with population 100,000 to 499,999, and in 67 per cent of the cities with population 30,000 to 99,999. In cities with a population of 2,500 or more, 56 per cent of all school systems operated under tenure principles.<sup>4</sup> The corresponding figure for 1931 was 28 per cent, and for 1941, 40 per cent.<sup>5</sup> It is in the rural areas that tenure has advanced only slowly.

Of the fifteen states having no tenure areas seven had mandatory continuing contract provisions throughout the state. (See Table 5), and one (Virginia) provided for permissive state-sanctioned continuing contracts in some districts. Four states (Idaho, Utah, Ver-

<sup>4</sup> *Teacher Personnel Practices, 1950-1951: Appointment and Termination of Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, February, 1952), p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

TABLE 6

GEOGRAPHICAL COVERAGE OF TEACHER TENURE PROVISIONS IN STATE LAWS  
IN SELECTED YEARS

State	1936 *	1947 *	1953
Alabama	none	statewide	statewide
Arizona	none	none	statewide
Arkansas	none	none	none
California	some districts	some districts	some districts
Colorado	some districts	some districts	some districts
Connecticut	none	some districts	some districts
Delaware	none	none	none
Florida	none	some districts	statewide
Georgia	none	some districts	some districts
Idaho	none	none	none
Illinois	some districts	some districts	some districts
Indiana	some districts	some districts	some districts
Iowa	none	statewide	statewide
Kansas	none	some districts	some districts
Kentucky	none	some districts	statewide
Louisiana	statewide	statewide	statewide
Maine	none	none	none
Maryland	statewide	statewide	statewide
Massachusetts	statewide	statewide	statewide
Michigan	none	some districts	some districts
Minnesota	some districts	some districts	statewide
Mississippi	none	none	none
Missouri	none	some districts	some districts
Montana	none	none	statewide
Nebraska	none	some districts	some districts
Nevada	none	none	none
New Hampshire	none	none	some districts
New Jersey	statewide	statewide	statewide
New Mexico	none	statewide	statewide
New York	some districts	some districts	some districts
North Carolina	none	none	some districts
North Dakota	none	none	none
Ohio	none	some districts	some districts
Oklahoma	none	none	none
Oregon	some districts	some districts	some districts
Pennsylvania	none	statewide	statewide
Rhode Island	none	statewide	statewide
South Carolina	none	some districts	some districts
South Dakota	none	none	none
Tennessee	none	none	statewide
Texas	none	none	none
Utah	none	none	none
Vermont	none	none	none
Virginia	none	none	none
Washington	none	none	none
West Virginia	none	none	statewide
Wisconsin	some districts	some districts	some districts
Wyoming	none	none	none

\* Adapted from *A Handbook on Teacher Tenure*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, September, 1936), p. 172.

\* Adapted from Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom, *Teacher Tenure: Analysis and Appraisal* (Washington: National Education Association, October, 1947), p. 9.

mont, and Wyoming) had no statutory provisions regarding length of contracts of teachers. Mississippi law did not permit teacher contracts for longer than two- or three-year periods depending on the district. Texas provided similarly for contracts of differing lengths up to a five-year maximum, and Oklahoma contracts could not exceed one year, due to a constitutional prohibition.

It should not be assumed that arbitrary dismissal practices are followed in all areas lacking legal tenure. Fair dismissal practices would be followed by informed and fair-minded boards of education regardless of the law.<sup>6</sup> Teachers, however, are not really secure if their positions depend entirely on the good-will and, to an extent, the whims of a majority of local board members who may be subject to frequent change. Moreover, without legal tenure, appeals are precluded except during a contract term.

National statistics on the numbers of teachers working under the various contract conditions are not available. Fairly satisfactory estimates can be made on the basis of geographical coverage of the various laws and figures on the numbers of teachers in the various districts of the state. An often overlooked factor, however, relates to the difference between eligibility for and achievement of the status. The number of teachers in a tenure district does not bear a definite relationship to the number of teachers in the district actually protected by tenure, for probationary and temporary teachers would have to be accounted for under other categories. A study of tenure in California during 1948-1949 illustrates the point by revealing that among districts granting tenure, the percentage of teachers in the system on tenure varied from less than ten to over eighty.<sup>7</sup> While absolute figures cannot be given, it may be estimated that about two-thirds of the teachers in the country as a whole are in districts which grant tenure, but that fewer than half of all teachers in the nation actually are enjoying tenure protection.

<sup>6</sup> Utah and Idaho are experimenting with types of nonlegal tenure. A plan formulated by the Utah Education Association is reported to have been approved by about three-quarters of the districts. In Idaho in 1951 a Code of Fair Employment Practices worked out by the Idaho Education Association and the Idaho State Teachers Association went into operation.

<sup>7</sup> California Teachers Association, *The Status of Teacher Tenure in California in 1948-1949*, Research Bulletin, No. 12, San Francisco, April, 1949, p. 3.

## COVERAGE OF TENURE LAWS

The personnel covered by the various tenure laws are designated in one or more of four ways: (1) geographical area of teaching assignment, (2) size of school district, (3) extent of preparation, and (4) position held in the school system. In the sixteen states having tenure provisions on a statewide basis, the exact provisions are not always the same for every district in a given state. Maryland and Massachusetts, for example, have tenure laws for Baltimore and Boston differing from the laws applicable to the other parts of those states, and Florida has six different laws giving tenure protection in various counties. Michigan has unique permissive legislation regarding tenure, in that local communities may come under the law if approved by a majority of those eligible to vote. Some states (including Kansas, Minnesota, and Nebraska) have tenure laws applicable only to large cities.

California and Ohio have tenure mandatory in large districts and specifically optional in smaller ones. (The basis of differentiation in California is 550 pupils and in Ohio, 500). New York has tenure for all districts employing eight or more teachers, but prohibits districts having fewer than eight teachers from granting contracts for more than five years. Kentucky and Tennessee are examples of states which grant permanent tenure only to teachers possessing certain educational qualifications.

The types of positions covered by tenure laws vary widely. Several laws are ambiguous as to which, if any, professional employees other than teachers are protected. Some laws explicitly include principals, supervisors, or other certificated personnel.<sup>8</sup> Several which include administrative and supervisory personnel, however, specify that the tenure rights are granted to these groups as teachers

<sup>8</sup> Indiana's law, applicable to all but township schools, covers supervisors, principals, assistant superintendents, and superintendents. New Jersey's statewide law brings within its scope principals and local superintendents. The statewide Pennsylvania law covers "supervisors, supervising principals, principals, directors of vocational education, dental hygienists, visiting teachers, school secretaries the selection of whom is on the basis of merit as determined by eligibility lists, school nurses who are certified as teachers, and other regular full-time employees certified as teachers." The statewide law in Louisiana covers all certificated employees. Only teachers are covered in Iowa. In Kentucky all employees certified on a four-year college basis, with the exception of supernumeraries, come within the purview of the statute.

and not as administrators or supervisors. Thus a principal in California or Tennessee, for example, can be removed from his principalship and given a teaching assignment without following the tenure procedure, but he cannot be removed from the school system unless tenure procedure is observed.

Superintendents throughout the country generally are not covered by tenure laws. This is particularly the case with county or intermediate superintendents, who, in most instances, are selected for a definite term. In the states where such superintendents are elected by popular vote the theory of tenure is inapplicable, but even in most of those areas where county boards of education appoint the superintendent, the tradition of his being a county officer prevails. In contrast, city superintendents legally are considered to be employees of the local board of education. Although all city superintendents are included as superintendents in the teacher tenure laws of only eight states, in eleven other states special provisions grant some superintendents statutory protection against unfair dismissal.\*

### PREREQUISITES TO OBTAINING TENURE STATUS

Before attaining tenure status, teachers usually are required to serve a probationary period. The most frequent length of this period is three years, although the range is from none in Iowa and a few cities to five years in all but township schools in Indiana. A few state laws specify probationary periods of varying lengths depending on the school district, and some give local school boards the power to decide on the length of the period within limits. In Massachusetts and in cities in New York the time of probation may be from one to three years. In certain other districts in New York, a three-year probationary period is required by state law, and in still other districts a period not exceeding five years is prescribed. Oregon since 1951 has had two years probation for teachers and three years for administrative and supervisory personnel. In New Jersey the probationary period is considered the equivalent of three academic years within a period of four successive years, and Tennessee law specifies three school years or not less than twenty-seven months within the

\* *Legal Status of the School Superintendent*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Washington, Research Division, National Education Association, October, 1951), p. 107.

last five-year period, providing the teacher was regularly employed during the last year.

Service on a tenure basis in other school districts may be used occasionally as a basis for reducing the probationary period necessary in a given school system. Substitute service may not be counted as probationary service except in rare instances where such is explicit in the law. A board of education sometimes may extend for a limited period the time of probation required, as in Kentucky, where a maximum extension of two years is permitted, and in tenure areas of Michigan, where a one-year extension is possible.

Tenure in most jurisdictions is not acquired automatically at the end of the probationary period, but rather is dependent on appointment for the succeeding year. In a few tenure areas, including Louisiana, a teacher at the end of the probationary term automatically gains tenure status in the absence of a notice of unsatisfactory work.

In addition to successful completion of a probationary period, in some areas teachers must possess minimum preparation in order to be granted permanent tenure. Kentucky demands as a prerequisite a certificate based on four years of college. Tennessee has a similar requirement specifying a degree from an approved four-year college. Several counties in Florida prescribe conditions of professional growth before tenure is granted.

In most jurisdictions teachers on probation may be dismissed without following tenure procedures. Since probationary teachers usually are under annual contracts, the contract may simply not be renewed at the end of the year and no reasons need be given. During a school year, however, the typical probationary teacher has the legal rights of one operating under a contract. A few tenure laws prescribe some procedures to be followed in a dismissal action during a school year. New Mexico goes so far as to require a hearing and to provide an appeal to the state board of education for a probationary teacher dismissed during a school year. For dismissal at the end of a school year during the probation period, however, the only restraint in that state is that notice be given by the close of the school year. This latter restriction is typical, except that often the notice must be given earlier than the end of the year. In such areas as Louisiana and Pennsylvania reasons are required for dropping a probationary teacher at any time. Cause for dismissal of

probationary teachers at the end of a school year is required in Los Angeles and San Francisco, but not in other parts of California. In Oregon a unique provision for probationary teachers is the right to work in a different school if difficulties with one principal arise.

## THE TENURE PROCEDURE

### NOTICE OF CHARGES

The first requirement of true tenure procedure is that the teacher be given a notice that the board of education intends to institute dismissal proceedings. Almost all tenure laws require that the notice be written. Sometimes reasons must accompany the notice, as in Louisiana, Ohio, and Rhode Island. In other places, such as tenure areas in Alabama, Montana, and South Carolina, charges are not automatically sent to the teacher involved, but may be requested. The length of time the notice must precede the hearing is specified in most laws, with the vast majority prescribing a period in the range of ten to thirty days. The minimum is five days in New Mexico, and the maximum is three months in some districts in Florida. In a few jurisdictions longer periods are required for charges of incompetency than for other charges. California, for example, requires ninety days notice for incompetency and thirty days for other charges, and St. Louis mandates a semester's notice for inefficiency with thirty days for other offenses. "Reasonable" time is prescribed in such states as Iowa and New Jersey.

There are certain other procedural details which are generally regarded as good if not necessary. The notice should be sent to the teacher by registered mail. It should give sufficient information about the charges so that the teacher may prepare a defense. Hence the teacher's acts or omissions which have brought about the dismissal action should be clearly specified. The statement of charges should be signed by the proper persons so as to establish authenticity. A notice which fails to comply with the stipulations of the law, or with "due process" in the absence of detailed procedures, is not effective and can nullify the whole subsequent proceeding.

### HEARING

The right to a hearing on the charges is the heart of protective tenure. The hearing is to determine whether the acts or omissions

specified in the notice did occur, and if so, whether they constitute grounds for dismissal. In some areas, such as, Louisiana, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky, the hearing is automatic. Under other laws, such as those in Arizona, Indiana, and Massachusetts, the holding of a hearing follows only if the teacher concerned requests it.

The details of the hearing vary according to different laws. Some laws are very concrete, some specify only general considerations, and some are silent on how the prescribed hearing should be conducted. An accused teacher is given the choice of a public or private hearing by most of the laws which contain a provision on the point. The Iowa law is one which mandates a public trial, and the one in Orange County, Florida is unique in that a private hearing is prescribed. In Massachusetts the board of education has the power to decide whether or not the hearing should be public. Illinois law covering certain districts provides for a public hearing if either the teacher or the board so desires.

Charges against a teacher usually are preferred by the superintendent of schools. In some cases this is stipulated in the tenure law, although commonly the law is vague as to who may present charges against a teacher. It is implicit in their position, of course, that members of the board of education can prefer charges. Many laws do not specifically say whether or not persons other than superintendent and board members may initiate charges. Laws in California and Colorado are among those which concretely provide for charges to be filed by any "person," and some other laws, like the ones in Michigan and Minnesota, imply such a situation. Regardless of who can bring charges according to the law, complaints from parents or other lay citizens can stimulate the superintendent or board to prefer charges. Oregon's tenure law provides conditions for charges to be brought by citizens directly to the board of education if the superintendent fails to do so when he has been made aware of them. It also requires that the board act on such charges as if they had been presented by the superintendent.

In almost all instances the hearing is held before the school board as a whole or a committee of the board. In a majority of instances the law is not explicit as to whether the whole board must be present. Since the school board as a whole is legally responsible for hiring and discharging, however, the entire board would have to pass on the facts before dismissal action could be taken. In New

York City any member or employee of the board may be appointed trial examiner by the board to conduct the hearing and to present a report of the trial with recommendations, which may be accepted, modified, or rejected by the board. In Orange County, Florida, the hearing is held by a special nine-member Teacher Tenure Hearing Board, of which three members are teachers selected by the board of directors of the county teachers' association, three are district trustees chosen by lot from districts other than the one in which the teacher involved is employed, and three are members of the county board of education (the local board in that county-unit state). California's unique provision for hearing involves holding the initial trial in a court. The board requests the court to determine the facts in the case and to decide whether or not grounds for dismissal exist. (The law specifically states, however, that technical rules of evidence shall not apply.)

The hearing provided for tenure teachers must be conducted fairly, according to common law precedents and "due process," even if the law does not detail the procedure. The courts are consistent in upholding this principle although they differ somewhat in interpretations of it. That an accused teacher may have counsel present at the hearing is explicit in most teacher tenure laws and implicit in the others. So is permission for the calling of witnesses. Some laws specifically provide that witnesses may be subpoenaed. A number require that testimony should be taken under oath, and some mandate a transcript of the bearing to be recorded. Fairness in the conduct of a hearing would require that there be opportunity for cross examination of witnesses. Also, only the evidence actually introduced at the trial should be considered. Other information which may have come to the attention of the hearing body must be disregarded unless it is made part of the official record of the trial. Moreover, only evidence pertinent to the charges should be permitted.

Just as the accused teacher should be afforded the right of legal counsel in his defense, so should a legal adviser be afforded the superintendent or other party preferring the charges. The school board itself would be wise to consult legal authorities to see that proposed procedure follows both the expression of the law and the requirements of "due process," because it is just as important for the welfare of the schools that the board not be prevented

from removing an unsatisfactory teacher because of its failure to observe a technicality as it is that the teacher not be dismissed unjustly.

#### CAUSE FOR DISMISSAL

The causes for which a teacher may be dismissed vary considerably among the states. Most tenure laws list reasons for discharge, although some, such as those in Arizona and Rhode Island, specify only "cause," "good cause," or "just cause." The ones that list reasons are of two kinds: those that list only specific causes (such as Kentucky and Louisiana), or those that add to the enumeration such a phrase as "and other good and just cause" (such as Alabama and Ohio). There has been much discussion in professional circles as to which of these three types of law is best, and the opposing arguments are presented later in this chapter.

The reasons for justifiable dismissal which find their way into most of the laws typically include several of the following: incompetency, immorality, inefficiency, insubordination, neglect of duty, justifiable decrease in number of teaching positions, physical unfitness, failure to obey school laws and board rules, and unprofessional conduct. Beyond these more or less standard causes are some items or wording of items peculiar to certain states.<sup>10</sup> Usually no explanation is given of the meaning of words listed as causes. The 1951 tenure law in Tennessee is noteworthy for its definitions of terms. "Incompetence," for example, is defined as "being incapable; lacking adequate power, capacity, or ability to carry out the duties and responsibilities of the position. This may apply to physical, mental, educational, emotional or other personal conditions. It may include lack of training or experience; evident unfitness for service; physical, mental or emotional condition unfitting teacher to instruct or associate with children; or inability to command respect from subordinates or to secure cooperation of those with whom he must work." "Conduct unbecoming to a member of the teaching profes-

<sup>10</sup> Some examples are: cruelty and intemperance in Pennsylvania, misconduct in office in Maryland, marriage of women teachers in Kansas (applicable to cities of over 120,000 population), failure to participate in a state-approved local in-service training program in Tennessee, commission or aiding or advocating the commission of acts of criminal syndicalism in California, and dishonesty in Louisiana.

sion" is said to "consist of but not be limited to one or more of the following: (a) immorality, (b) conviction of a felony or a crime involving moral turpitude, (c) dishonesty, unreliability, continued willful failure or refusal to pay one's just and honest debts, (d) disregard of the Code of Ethics of the Tennessee Education Association in such manner as to make one obnoxious as a member of the profession, (e) improper use of narcotics or intoxicants."<sup>11</sup>

Many states place certain legal restrictions on teachers, the violation of which presumably would be justification for removal even though tenure laws do not specifically list them as causes for discharge. Laws pertaining to "subversive" activities are a case in point. Although over two-thirds of the states have one or more laws disqualifying teachers for reasons relating to disloyalty, relatively few tenure laws specifically cover this point. In some states the loyalty laws are of more recent origin than the tenure laws and codifications have not been made. Regardless of the reason, a considerable degree of ambiguity regarding this point exists in some tenure areas, although it would seem that charges of alleged violation of an oath or alleged participation in "subversive" activities, in the absence of such causes in the tenure law, could be brought under the specifics of "unprofessional conduct," "incompetency," or "failure to obey school laws," and certainly under "just cause."

Some tenure laws preclude certain causes as grounds for dismissal. Indiana and Alabama exclude political or personal reasons, Georgia, in certain districts, specifically protects the exercise of constitutional rights, and Massachusetts lists a number of rights which may not be grounds for dismissal including signing nomination papers and petitioning the legislature.

#### APPEAL

Another essential part of tenure procedure is opportunity for appeal from an initial adverse decision. In effect, this element is ever present, for the courts have the power to review any school board decision on grounds that the board acted illegally or arbitrarily. This is true regardless of the wording of the law. Several tenure laws indicate that the decision of the board (or an appeal authority other than the courts) is final; yet instances of court review of

<sup>11</sup> Tennessee Laws of 1951, Public Chapter No. 76.

cases. This idea so far has had wider acceptance in the field of civil service than in education.

Appeals, regardless of the appellate body, can vary from reviews of the record of prior proceedings to complete retrials. A great many of the laws are not concrete on this point. Full-fledged retrials in which the previous proceedings are ignored are rare, although occasionally they are required, as in Arizona, or may be held at the request of the teacher, as in Pennsylvania. Generally appeal bodies give most attention to interpretation of the law, procedure of the school board, and sufficiency of the evidence. As a rule, a court will nullify capricious and illegal actions of boards and will protect constitutional rights of teachers, but it will not ordinarily substitute its judgment for that of legally constituted school bodies.

### CHANGE OF POSITION OR SALARY OF TENURE TEACHERS

Tenure laws frequently cover items not associated directly with dismissals based on circumstances essentially under the teacher's control. Decreased enrollment, lack of funds, district reorganization, curriculum revision, or other such circumstances might necessitate demotion, suspension, change in position, or removal.

Many tenure laws do not cover demotions, and some which do are not clear as to what constitutes a demotion. Reduction in salary is the most generally accepted criterion of demotion found in tenure laws, and a number of them forbid the reduction of a teacher's salary without tenure procedure. If salaries of all or a substantial proportion of teachers are reduced, the prohibition does not apply. Changes of position involving alleged loss of authority or prestige have been held by some courts to be demotions, even when there was no loss of salary. Some tenure laws specify that tenure protection pertains to professional employment in the school system and not to a specific job classification such as principal, whereas some others take the opposite position, and still others are not sufficiently clear. It is almost universally accepted that school officials have the power to place teachers in positions where they can contribute most to the good of the system. For tenure teachers, the transfer power is restricted only by the demotion factor,

which varies in different situations. Tenure rights would require that the transfer be made in good faith and not as a means of demoting a teacher or trying to force him to resign. Also, courts have held that abolition of a position must be bona fide, not a subterfuge to evade tenure provisions.

"Suspension" has different meanings in different laws. In most of the laws in which it appears it refers to temporary removal from duties, with or without salary, pending a hearing to consider dismissal. If the teacher is reinstated after the hearing, back pay is granted. In a few tenure jurisdictions suspension for a period of time may be used as a punitive device. Occasionally suspension refers to the status of tenure teachers who have been relieved of assignments for reasons not relating to their inadequacies. If there is a reduction in teaching force, probationary or nontenure teachers could not be retained if tenure teachers qualified for the remaining positions were released. Some statutes provide that, in such instances, seniority shall prevail. If this rule is not expressed, some courts have held that seniority does not necessarily apply, provided no nontenure teacher is retained. A few laws mandate that tenure teachers removed in a staff reduction should have priority of re-appointment if and when an expansion ensues.

## RESIGNATION OF TENURE TEACHERS

Although a tenure teacher cannot be forced to remain in service against his will (this would be involuntary servitude), several laws require that notice be given the school board prior to resignation. Thirty to sixty days' notice is commonly required by those laws that cover the point. A few tenure laws forbid resignations at certain times of the year. Indiana and Ohio, for example, forbid resignations during the school year or close to the opening, Indiana specifying thirty days before the term and Ohio setting August 1 as deadline. Penalties for violation are sometimes included. In Alabama, unless there is mutual consent between the board and the teacher, he cannot resign within forty-five days preceding the opening of school nor during the school term, under a penalty of revocation or suspension of his teaching certificate. In Michigan the penalty is forfeiture of tenure rights. In several states there are legal provisions regarding resignations which are not included

in tenure laws. In any case a teacher has a moral obligation to give sufficient notice of a contemplated resignation.

### AMENDMENTS TO TENURE LAWS

Can tenure laws be modified after they have gone into effect? The answer to this question is of utmost concern to teachers, for on it hinges the permanency of permanent tenure. In some tenure laws there is a definite clause providing for future amendments, but even in most other jurisdictions, according to existing judicial interpretations, the answer is probably "yes." The line of reasoning is that the state legislature cannot tie its hands if it is to carry out its functions in the future when unexpected situations may arise. Public welfare must be granted precedence over interest of teachers or any other groups, and progress would be impeded if existing laws could not be changed.

There is, however, a leading case taking the opposite point of view—a United States Supreme Court decision regarding the tenure law in Indiana.<sup>13</sup> This case and another Supreme Court decision regarding the tenure law in New Jersey<sup>14</sup> highlight the legal point. The nub of the question is found in the wording of the statutes, and the issue is whether the tenure law sets up a contract between the state and the teacher or whether it simply states legislative policy. The highest court held that in Indiana the tenure law had created a contract that could not be abrogated under the police power of the state, the only basis for a state's breaking a contract. The law mentioned the word contract some twenty-five times in its context. The New Jersey law, on the other hand, failed to mention the word contract and therefore was held to be amendable when a change of policy was intended. In most tenure areas no attempt to change basic provisions has been forthcoming, and therefore specific judicial rulings have not been made. With the exception of the Indiana law, however, all tenure laws which courts have reviewed in regard to legality of changes have been held to be amendable. It should be noted that a "contractual" tenure law would apply only to those who had attained tenure under the law and would not be binding in regard to future candidates for tenure.

<sup>13</sup> *Indiana ex rel. Anderson v. Brand*, 303 U.S. 95 (1938).

<sup>14</sup> *Phelps v. Board of Education of West New York, New Jersey*, 300 U.S. 319 (1937).

## PRESSING PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

There are several points in relation to tenure on which conflicting views are present, within the profession as well as in the citizenry at large. These issues need to be resolved through research and discussion. If teachers ignore them, they fail in a professional responsibility. To take unstudied stands is even worse.

### THE TENURE PRINCIPLE ITSELF

Purposes of tenure for teachers were presented early in the chapter. With the general goals there can be little genuine quarrel. Yet tenure laws have not been accepted by the public with the enthusiasm that has accompanied such provisions as salary schedules or retirement legislation. Investigation shows that arguments against tenure are not primarily focused on the principle itself so much as on existing and proposed ways of implementing the principle, although occasionally the whole concept of tenure is opposed on the ground that it is not the best way to achieve the ends sought.

In opposition to tenure, the claims are frequently heard that the unfit are protected along with the fit, that tenure actually does not appreciably reduce turnover in the profession, and that so much security reduces the incentive for self-improvement or even for keeping up-to-date. Overprotection of the unsatisfactory teacher is dealt with as the next issue, and turnover is treated at the end of this chapter. It may be stated here, however, that the good achieved by tenure laws in protecting the competent against capricious dismissal has, over the years, far exceeded the bad which may have resulted from difficulties in removing the laggards. The effect of tenure on professional growth is not easily measured, but there is some evidence to indicate that teachers protected by tenure are at least as active in in-service development as are teachers not enjoying such contractual conditions. Holmstedt made a detailed comparison between tenure teachers in New Jersey and nontenure teachers in Connecticut and reported that "no evidence was found in this study to show that tenure causes decreased interest in professional development. New Jersey teachers on tenure make as great efforts to improve their teaching ability as do comparable Connecticut

teachers." <sup>15</sup> He did, however, point out that "the chief difficulty arises in the protection afforded the teacher who becomes unprogressive rather than in the actual increase of deficiency." <sup>16</sup>

Based on a study of teachers attending summer session at selected universities, the Committee on Tenure of the National Education Association concluded, "there appeared to be little, if any, variation in frequency of attendance at summer school attributable to variations in . . . contractual conditions of employment." <sup>17</sup>

#### DISMISSING THOSE WHO FAIL AFTER ACHIEVING TENURE

The most serious problem in regard to existing tenure laws may be stated as, "How can the competent be protected adequately without setting up dismissal procedures which make it inexpedient, if not impossible, to remove the unfit?" In educational circles the main emphasis has been, and to a large extent still is, on preventing arbitrary and unjust removal of satisfactory teachers, a focus which regrettably has been needed in many places. The other side of the picture, providing for easy removal of the unsatisfactory, has not been given the professional attention it merits despite the fact that the dilemma has long been recognized by students in the area. Back in 1932 Holmstedt concluded:

The most aggravating problem faced by school officials in New Jersey is the difficulty involved in removing unsatisfactory teachers who are protected by tenure. Theoretically the law provides for the dismissal of teachers for just cause, but the procedure is such that school officials have become very reluctant to carry out dismissal proceedings. The result is that New Jersey teachers who secure tenure are practically assured a permanent position.<sup>18</sup>

In 1934 Scott reemphasized the problem by presenting such data as the following: from July, 1913, to November, 1927, only fourteen elementary teachers in Portland, Oregon, were brought to trial and nine discharged under the indefinite tenure law; during the twelve-

<sup>15</sup> Raleigh W. Holmstedt, *A Study of the Effects of the Teacher Tenure Law in New Jersey* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), p. 100.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>17</sup> Committee on Tenure, *The Effect of Tenure upon Professional Growth* (Washington: National Education Association, 1940), p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> Raleigh W. Holmstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

year period, 1920-1931, only nine professional employees who had tenure protection were dismissed in Chicago; and in Newark, New Jersey, only one teacher was dismissed during the five-year period, 1926-1931.<sup>19</sup> More recently, the California Teachers Association reported that in the state of California only nine tenure teachers were dismissed during the period 1943-1948.<sup>20</sup> The above are isolated examples, but are not considered atypical. A National Education Association report in 1952 indicated that of the cities operating under tenure, 70 per cent had not dismissed any tenure teachers because of unsatisfactory service during the preceding three years.<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to note that a National Education Association survey, reported in 1945, indicated that 57 per cent of participating urban teachers and 63 per cent of rural participating teachers agreed with the statement, "The school authorities should be more aggressive than at present in dismissing or otherwise getting rid of incompetent teachers," whereas only 21 per cent of urban and 16 per cent of rural teachers disagreed with the statement.<sup>22</sup> This survey did not break down the data according to conditions for terminating employment.

It should be recognized that not all those teaching within a local or state system which grants tenure are on tenure at any instant, that sometimes tenure teachers "resign on request," and that care is taken in selecting teachers for tenure appointments. These considerations, however, are rather insignificant in the big picture, and do not begin to account for the startling paucity of dismissals of tenure teachers. Those even slightly familiar with the facts find it utterly unbelievable that of the tens of thousands of teachers protected by tenure, each year only such an infinitesimal proportion fail. Students in the area attribute the situation to procedures which in effect cloak the unsatisfactory as well as the excellent.

The benefits for education derived from tenure provisions for

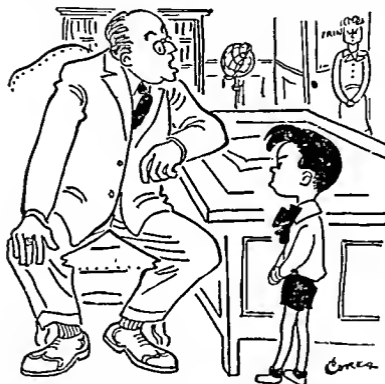
<sup>19</sup> Cecil W. Scott, *Indefinite Teacher Tenure* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934), pp. 51-52.

<sup>20</sup> California Teachers Association, *The Status of Teacher Tenure in 1948-49*, p. 6.

<sup>21</sup> *Teacher Personnel Practices, 1950-51: Appointment and Termination of Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Washington, Research Division, National Education Association, February, 1952), p. 26.

<sup>22</sup> *The Teacher Looks at Personnel Administration*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Washington, Research Division, National Education Association, December, 1945), pp. 122-123.

teachers make the complete abrogation of such laws unthinkable. Modifications, however, are needed so that the unfit can be removed expediently. Theoretically, of course, this is possible, but discharge is made overly difficult in several ways. The advocated procedure is lengthy, time-consuming, and often expensive for the school dis-



"Admitting, as you say, that tenure may perpetuate some mistakes, you've still got to obey her."

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trict. Evidence must be carefully formulated and documented, since the burden of proof is on the party preferring charges. Technicalities of procedure must be observed, or the case may fall on a procedural defect rather than on a substantive point. If in the past the administrator had tried to be helpful to a weak teacher and had tried not to discourage him by putting in writing warnings and

instances of unsatisfactory work, he might well find his former kindness a detriment, for lack of written adverse ratings and the like has frequently prevented a dismissal from taking place. Evidence to substantiate unfitness would often involve others in the school system. The staff typically would be divided before the trial, not unlikely due to partial or even false information. The accused or his friends may stir up sympathy for him on bases irrelevant to the case. The community is likely to be divided into factions more by emotion than by reason. The teacher, by design or otherwise, frequently becomes a symbol of the underdog—an individual accused by a powerful administrative hierarchy. The issue tends to become almost a personal one between the teacher and the superintendent, and, in a real sense, the superintendent is as much on trial as the teacher. Regardless of the outcome of the case the types of reactions just described would damage the school system. Administrative leaders, consequently, are reluctant to bring about such a situation, which could have worse repercussions than retaining an unsatisfactory teacher.

Today this problem is almost as far from solution as it was when first recognized. Some possible help lies in raising requirements prior to acquisition of tenure status. If only the well-trained were admitted to full tenure protection, presumably fewer failures would occur later in service. Also requirements in the tenure law regarding professional growth might aid somewhat in alleviating the problem by keeping teachers up-to-date. Such provisions are relatively rare in tenure laws. Some cities provide for periodic evidence of growth, but the penalty for noncompliance usually is failure to get a salary increment, rather than removal. Legal requirements, along with good leadership and other incentives, are important, but they do not really hit the core of the problem. Their help lies in reducing the frequency of teacher failures during the long period between achievement of tenure status and retirement, rather than in removing the unsatisfactory.

Professional associations aid in resolving the dilemma when they maintain an objective attitude. Too frequently, however, they almost automatically take the position of defending the teacher, rather than defending the school system which may be better off without the teacher. Professional conduct on the part of teachers and administrators and proper motivation on the part of board members

would probably eliminate the problem, but in such a wonderland tenure itself would be unnecessary.

Although the extent to which a public enterprise can and should conduct its operations without complete concurrent public knowledge is limited, it is submitted that the public hearing in tenure cases is not good for the school system. So long as a stenographic record is kept, the accused teacher can bring counsel and witnesses, and a complete review is afforded, a closed bearing would tend to reduce the emotional aspects so harmful to the school system without depriving the accused teacher of fair protection.

It is recognized that the above suggestions are wide of the mark. If the mark is to be hit, and it must be if tenure is not to remain a mixed blessing from the point of view of the education enterprise as a whole, the problem of dismissal of the unfit must be approached with sincerity by all concerned groups, and new frames of reference must be found.

#### THE PROBATIONARY PERIOD

Since it is virtually impossible to predict accurately what degree of success a new teacher will have in a particular position until he actually functions in it, a probationary period prior to the granting of tenure protection is almost universally accepted in theory and practice. Yet many problems arise in connection with the probationary period. Several studies in different states have shown that failures to renew contracts tend to cluster at the end of the probationary period. Partly this is due to the fact that administrators and board members seek to give teachers who do not prove successful during the trial period the longest trial time possible rather than to remove them at once. Partly, unfortunately, it is attributable to the deliberate action to circumvent the purposes of the law by some unethical boards. By not allowing teachers to gain tenure, unscrupulous boards can retain rather absolute power over teaching staffs. The school system, of course, suffers from such turnover, but it would be suffering on many scores if it were subject to a board of education which would operate in this manner. Some cases are known where the same teachers who were refused tenure status have been rehired on probation.

No completely adequate solution to the problem has been advanced. To grant tenure upon original appointment might seem to

help, but then other problems are introduced which could be handled through the use of a probation period, and the large number of ethical school boards would be handicapped in order to correct the abuses of the relatively few unprincipled ones. The state of Pennsylvania tried the immediate tenure plan, but soon discarded it. In the section, "Prerequisites to Obtaining Tenure Status," the attempts of New Jersey and Tennessee to deal with the problem are presented. It would be interesting to adapt to the public schools of a state the stand on probation of the American Association of University Professors.<sup>23</sup>

Although the burden of proving fitness rests on the teacher during the probationary period, whereas during the tenure period the burden of proving unfitness lies with the administration, it is the duty of the school administration to help the probationary teacher to succeed. This is not only a moral consideration but also a practical one, because the school system has in each new teacher an investment which is lost if the teacher must be replaced. Yet great care should be taken in promoting probationary teachers to tenure status. The decision should not be based on sentiment or the theory of "giving the teacher a break." It also seems justifiable that a probationary teacher who is not to be granted tenure should be given detailed reasons for the refusal. He should also be given some guidance and help on planning his future, either within or outside the field of education. Fair play would indicate that prior notice be given, so that the teacher's failure does not come as a sudden blow. The erection of legal barriers against end-of-year dismissal during the probationary period, other than requiring timely notice and statement of reasons, would tend to grant protection to those who had not yet merited it and would not serve the best interests of the schools. During a probationary year the teacher should serve under a contract, which could be broken only upon proof of specified shortcomings on the part of the teacher.

<sup>23</sup> "Beginning with appointment to the rank of full-time instructor or a higher rank, the probationary period should not exceed seven years, including within this period full-time service in all institutions of higher education; but subject to the proviso that when, after a term of probationary service of more than three years in one or more institutions, a teacher is called to another institution it may be agreed in writing that this new appointment is for a probationary period of not more than four years, even though thereby the person's total probationary period in the academic profession is extended beyond the normal maximum of seven years."

## TENURE IN RURAL AREAS

It was pointed out that in two-thirds of the states teachers in rural areas are not eligible for coverage under state tenure legislation. In only about half of these states, however, is state-mandated tenure altogether missing. In the other half tenure protection is granted teachers in large districts. Several states, among them California, Indiana, and Wisconsin, at one time had laws requiring tenure in small districts but since have removed rural teachers from compulsory coverage. The situation is somewhat paradoxical, because greater teacher shortages and poorer working conditions are frequently found in nonurban areas and tenure protection would seem to be a good way of ameliorating the situation.

There are certain factors affecting tenure in small districts which present difficulties not found in larger districts. One such problem is that teachers in small districts often do not have the benefit of the kind and degree of educational leadership and guidance which might spell the difference between superior and mediocre or even unsatisfactory teaching over the period of possibly forty years between achieving tenure and retirement. Of more significance is the fact that the use of transfers to grant teachers new opportunities for success is generally precluded because there would usually not be more than one school of a particular level in a rural district. Furthermore, teachers in rural areas are often not well qualified, and it would hardly be wise to freeze such teachers in their jobs through tenure unless some provision for continued self-improvement were imposed. Continuing an essentially poor teacher in service because of the "overprotection" found in the operation of many tenure laws would be much more serious in a school system having only a small number of teachers to offset the laggard than it would in a larger system, where his relative damage would be less. An encouraging sign pointing to a resolution of the problem of tenure for rural teachers lies in the reorganization of school districts to provide for larger administrative units, where tenure has been found to operate better.

## TENURE FOR ADMINISTRATORS

There is sharp disagreement among educators about whether or not superintendents should have tenure. In addition to those argu-

ments favoring tenure for teachers, others are advanced for granting it to chief administrators. One such argument is that a superintendent is handicapped in carrying out his responsibilities if all other persons in the system are protected by tenure and he is not. Another is that a chief administrator who is not protected by tenure might be reluctant to present and press points of view that might be unpopular with the board of education. On the other hand, there are arguments against tenure for superintendents in addition to those against tenure for teachers. One is that a chief executive's term of office should be subject to the wishes of those for whom he administers the enterprise. In a school situation, he should be responsible to the people of the school district as represented by the school board. He must have the confidence of his staff, his board, and the public at large, and he must assume responsibility for the success of the entire education program in his community. If he loses a substantial portion of this confidence his leadership will be ineffectual, regardless of whether or not specific charges could legally be proved against him, as required by tenure provisions. Another point against tenure for the chief administrator is that he is such a key figure that much more serious harm would come to the system if he should falter than if a teacher should fail. The latter two arguments seem strong enough to support the view that there are better ways to give superintendents the necessary degree of security than through tenure. Contracts for periods of several years, with at least six months' notice of nonrenewal, is one way. The superintendent's salary might be used to compensate for the "element of risk" in his position. Retirement provisions also might be adjusted in the chief administrator's favor.

Principals and supervisors, since they are primarily concerned with classroom instruction, fall in a somewhat different category from that of the superintendent. They should certainly be granted tenure as teachers in the system and probably in their administrative or supervisory positions, after a probationary period in the position.

#### THE MERIT FACTOR

Many tenure laws, especially the older ones, make a number of years of satisfactory teaching experience the only requirement to

qualify for tenure protection. Such a situation cannot be defeated if the prime purpose of tenure—to improve the quality of education—is considered. As a result of some such laws there are thousands of teachers protected by tenure whose preparation is woefully inadequate. Theoretically, if this lack of training rendered them incompetent they could be dismissed, but, as highlighted in another section, dismissal procedures under tenure make this path impractical. Moreover, teachers who lack proper training should be required to prove their entitlement to retention; the board should not, in this circumstance, have to prove their inadequacy.

Many citizens find a grave inconsistency in affording protection to a person in a position for which he does not possess requisite training. Ideally this problem would better be handled through certification requirements. Practically, however, certification requirements are low in many instances. In other cases it is not possible to find enough teachers fulfilling higher certification requirements, so it is necessary to employ substandard or emergency teachers. If these are retained beyond the probationary period, tenure must be granted under a number of laws. The inclusion, in some recent laws, of a training requirement for tenure eligibility is encouraging. Teachers whose preparation is weak, but who are filling vacancies resulting from the teacher shortage to the best of their ability and training, should not be subject to arbitrary removal. Exactly what protection they should have would depend on how much training they had, their experience, and the quality of their performance. The conditions of their employment should be clearly stated in their contracts and they should be treated fairly by the school authorities, but granting them tenure is not considered fair to the system.

Another aspect of the merit principle involves professional improvement while in service. The possession of satisfactory qualifications for tenure at age twenty-five is not an assurance that a teacher will remain qualified during the subsequent forty years or so. Some account of this factor should be taken in the tenure law, although perhaps certification and salary laws are better media for dealing with it. Failure to meet reasonable requirements for professional growth might be listed as a cause for dismissal, as is the case in a few tenure laws. Many states have statutory requirements, apart from tenure laws, relating to growth in service. Attendance with pay at institutes sponsored by state or local authorities is a common

requirement. A few states specify other requirements, and, presumably, where a tenure law operates, failure to obey such a regulation might be reason for dismissal even if the tenure law did not mention it. In many states evidence of professional growth is needed for certificate renewal, and proper certification is required of all teachers regardless of tenure status.

#### SHOULD TENURE LAWS BE MADE CONTRACTUAL?

If tenure laws may be amended by the legislature at its pleasure, then security of employment is largely an illusion. This is a compelling argument and probably the basic one prompting many teachers' associations to work vigorously for contractual relationships in tenure laws. Assuming that such is legally possible in a given state,<sup>24</sup> its complete desirability has not been conclusively proved to some. When one looks at the tremendous progress made in public education during the last quarter century, and when one hopes that such progress will be at least as rapid in the coming decades, one may hesitate to crystallize best-thinking of the moment into a contract which cannot be altered for those covered except by their consent. The future is likely to produce ideas and relationships that would render the best existing tenure laws obsolete, with the possible result that contractual status obtained now might be a handicap rather than a help in the advancement of education. Although the great virtues of tenure laws should not be minimized, the ideal tenure law is still to be written. An experience with the only tenure law judicially recognized as being contractual is worthy of note. The legislature of Indiana, in connection with teacher retirement, passed a law to amend the tenure law so that tenure status would terminate at age sixty-six, with annual contracts beyond that age left to the board's discretion. The Supreme Court of Indiana held that such an amendment constituted impairment of contract provisions and that a tenure teacher could not be removed because of age for retirement purposes without following tenure procedures.

#### SPECIFICITY OF CAUSES FOR DISMISSAL

Abstractly, the designation of causes for dismissal would seem far preferable to allowing removal of tenure teachers for "just cause."

<sup>24</sup> See "Amendments to Tenure Laws," p. 200

A listing of proscribed forms of conduct helps the teacher to know the bounds within which he must work, and enumeration of causes restricts the discretionary power granted to boards of education, presumably a benefit to teachers. It is also sometimes contended that courts are more likely to go into the merits of cases of dismissal when the law lists specifics, because the court would have to see whether the circumstances actually constituted one of the specified reasons.

Opposition to enumeration of causes centers about the fact that it is impossible to list all the possible causes for dismissal. Moreover, the causes generally listed are almost as subject to interpretation as a "just cause" provision. It is an illusion to assume that incompetency, unprofessional conduct, immorality, and the like are really specifics. There is the further danger that unanticipated difficulties may arise from a too narrow interpretation of the causes by a court or from the rather widely accepted legal principle that an enumeration is all-inclusive and that if a reason is not listed it cannot be considered.

A sort of compromise between the two above methods of treating grounds for dismissal in tenure laws seems to have more promise than either alone. This method provides for the enumeration of concrete causes and the addition of a phrase such as "and for other good and just cause." Thus teachers, board members, and courts have some indication of legislative intent, yet the door is left open to care for unforeseen circumstances. Under usual interpretation by courts, the general phrase is interpreted not in the abstract and most general sense but rather in light of the preceding enumeration. The 1951 Tennessee tenure law is thought to be good in this respect because it lists causes for dismissal and then defines each cause, giving examples but specifically stating that they are not all-inclusive.<sup>22</sup>

#### FAIRNESS OF SCHOOL BOARD HEARINGS

There is a feeling among some that a hearing before the board of education is apt not to be entirely unbiased if, as is usually the case, charges are preferred by the superintendent or by a board member. Although this viewpoint cannot be supported generally, there have been instances when teachers have had some justification for feel-

<sup>22</sup> See pp. 195-196.

always expanding leadership functions. Moreover, they are not the employing agents for teachers in local systems. Thus it would seem that the hearing of tenure appeals might well be vested elsewhere.

Providing for initial appeals to be heard by courts has many disadvantages. For both the teacher and the board there is the factor of expense for counsel and court fees. Court proceedings often are slow. Another strong argument against immediate appeal to the courts is that such a procedure is an avoidance of professional responsibility. The professional characteristic of self-discipline is deliberately negated. If the courts are asked to decide whether the charges constitute incompetence, judges who are untrained in education as a specialization are asked to decide what should be a highly technical question. If, on the other hand, the courts merely check on arbitrary actions and on violations of the law, teachers are deprived of the opportunity for complete reviews.

The tenure commission idea has considerable promise as a solution to the dilemma. The key would appear to be in the composition and operation of such a commission. Teachers and administrators should be represented on it, and others might be school board members, members of parent groups, staff members of colleges and universities preparing teachers, and disinterested citizens. It is recommended that the commission have no function other than handling tenure cases. A dismissed tenure teacher would be required to carry his initial appeal to this body, and the decision of the tenure commission would be final except for review by the courts on points of law and procedure. Much thinking and experimentation are needed in regard to details of such a commission's composition and operation, but the possibilities seem very promising.

#### RELATION OF TENURE LAWS TO OTHER LAWS

Tenure laws must be considered as part of the whole body of legislation affecting teachers. Close integration is necessary with certification, salary, and retirement laws if tenure laws are to be truly effective. If teachers are not qualified for the protection they receive, tenure laws are a mockery. If boards of education can reduce salaries of teachers, the tenure principle is a hollow one providing the right to a job but no assurance of adequate pay for performing it. If tenure laws specify no age at which tenure ceases to operate, problems

over in New York found "no evidence . . . to show that state tenure legislation tends to reduce turnover."<sup>26</sup> Another study reported that "the difference between Connecticut and New Jersey teachers [Connecticut having no tenure law and New Jersey having one] with respect to stability is not large enough to be of much practical significance in individual school systems."<sup>27</sup> A third concluded that "evidence . . . is so meager that no affirmative conclusion is warranted."<sup>28</sup>

Although the rate of teacher turnover has been frequently deplored by education spokesmen, very little research in the area has been forthcoming. Lack of adequate records in most school systems on why teachers leave positions has been one big handicap in dealing with the problem. Some turnover, of course, is unavoidable, and some is even desirable. Causes that might be considered unavoidable from the point of view of the administration include marriage, maternity, retirement, illness, death, and professional study. Avoidable causes could include dissatisfaction, acceptance of a better position in the field of education, acceptance of a better position in another field of endeavor, and dismissal.

The significant conclusions to be drawn from the little research devoted to teacher turnover may be summarized as follows:

1. The chief causes of teacher turnover are acceptance of a better position and marriage.
2. The rate of turnover bears little relation to prevailing conditions regarding termination of employment.
3. The rate of turnover does not seem to be closely related to the salary maximums provided by local school systems despite the fact that "leaving to accept a better position" is one of the leading causes of turnover.
4. The rate of turnover varies widely from school system to school system.<sup>29</sup>
5. The rate of turnover in large city school systems is consistently less than in small school systems.
6. Interstate teacher migration figures show a wide divergence

<sup>26</sup> Willard S. Elsbree, *Teacher Turnover in the Cities and Villages of New York State* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1928), p. 67.

<sup>27</sup> Raleigh W. Holmstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>28</sup> Cecil W. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

<sup>29</sup> One study showed a range of 1.37 per cent to 33.59 per cent in city school systems within a single state. (Willard S. Elsbree, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.)

among states in regard to per cents of teachers entering and leaving.

7. The practice of employing local residents as teachers apparently tends to keep turnover relatively low, although certain other effects of "inbreeding" are less favorable.

8. Teachers with better professional backgrounds tend to migrate more than those less well-prepared.

Increased professional attention to research into the amounts and causes of teacher turnover is sorely needed. Undoubtedly some aspects can be attacked directly through enlightened local personnel policies, attitudes, and procedures. Other phases probably must be dealt with more indirectly through broad measures aiding in the establishment of teaching as a highly desirable profession for a permanent career. In the absence of research data, however, reduction of the rate of teacher turnover seems destined to be an elusive goal.

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## 9 IN-SERVICE EDUCATION

There is probably no greater test of the leadership ability of the superintendent of schools than his success in initiating and carrying out a program of in-service education. The continuing development of the professional staff is highly important for several reasons. In the first place, the world is changing rapidly, and some of the knowledge and much of the training which teachers brought to their work originally is soon outdated. Scientific achievements are constantly altering our mode of life; the political world has been so completely changed in recent years that the old geographies are quite obsolete; in fact, nearly every facet of knowledge is undergoing great transformation. Moreover, research in methodology is pointing to newer and more efficient ways of teaching. It is obvious, therefore, that if teachers, principals, supervisors, and superintendents of schools are to keep abreast of the developments that bear on their stock-in-trade, they can't be satisfied with the preparation they received in college.

This fact takes on special importance because teaching is a profession, and, like all professions, it places obligations on its members beyond those commonly expected of workers in most other vocations. The present and future welfare of children is partially the responsibility of teachers, and if, for lack of insight or knowledge which they might have acquired, they fail to equip children to meet the perplexing problems of life, the world will be the loser. The teacher who resorts to antiquated methods and procedures in the exercise of his tasks is equally as blameworthy as the physician who persists in using outmoded methods of treating pneumonia. To meet the social responsibility that goes with membership in a profession, constant study and growth are required.

The second reason why continuous study is important is that human beings in all walks of life get into ruts, and, unless people

are encouraged to get out of them early, the ruts get deeper. Teachers and administrators apparently don't stand still in their achievements. Their efficiency either improves or it declines. Perhaps this is because the stimuli that surround teachers can scarcely leave them unaffected. A positive or a negative response is almost certain to result.

A third important reason for devoting thought and effort to a continuing program of professional development is that it is a major factor in welding the staff together as a unit. Where education flourishes, the faculty are working as a team and not as individuals. To achieve this unity it is essential that some common purposes be identified and pursued, and that problems of general concern be studied and resolved by the staff as a whole or through representatives. Only through such a process can a team spirit be built.

A fourth and final reason why administrators should give thought to in-service education is that individual growth comes about by fostering group growth. Hence a program of in-service education, involving a large amount of group activity and cooperative effort, is the most effective means of ensuring the continuous improvement of individual members of the staff.

### BASIC ELEMENTS IN PROGRAM

Although it would be an exaggeration to state that educators are in complete agreement as to just what makes for an ideal program of continuous professional development, there is considerable agreement on the elements that distinguish the better from the poorer programs.

#### MUST BE PSYCHOLOGICALLY SOUND

Nearly everyone will concede that it is highly important that *the program be based on sound psychological principles*. Perhaps the most noticeable change in in-service education procedures is the way staff problems are selected for study. Until recently, administrators and supervisors tended to identify growth needs and to determine the order in which instructional problems were to be studied. But experience proved the unsoundness of this method; it failed to take account of the employees' concerns and interests, with

the result that the efforts put forth were often disappointing. Apparently, where there is little interest there is little effort.

Related to this is another modification in procedure which has its roots in practical psychology. Individuals are improved most when they themselves are engaged in trying to improve a program, not through the direct efforts of supervisors and others to improve teachers. This is not meant to imply that learning never takes place except through participation in a curriculum revision program or through some group effort to resolve a school problem. But it is far more efficient from a learning standpoint for teachers to select problems to study and to be encouraged to resolve them through group efforts than to rely on a series of lectures or some other superimposed medium of in-service education. Dewey's oft-quoted principle of "learning to do by doing" not only applies to the learning of children but to that of adults as well.

There is also another principle that is being recognized more and more in planning in-service programs and that has to do with the provision of real incentives for teachers to grow. Teachers are human, and they all have personal goals which they are trying to achieve. Some of their hopes and aspirations are completely dissociated from school activities. But there are many worthy goals that have significance for both the school and for the individual teacher. When teachers succeed in identifying with these common purposes, they are likely to put forth their greatest efforts. Certain administrative arrangements are designed to promote this identification. School systems frequently make provision for teachers to be given credit on the salary schedule for significant work in an improvement program. Sometimes the nature of the work also makes it possible for certain teachers to receive university credit. In a few school systems, teachers showing unusual promise in areas involving supervision or administration are being encouraged to attend leadership seminars where recruits are being sought to fill future vacancies. Wise administrators try to promote from within when the talent is there and when children's interests are not being sacrificed. The foregoing are merely illustrative of the possible ways by which a school system can promote the individual interests of teachers and at the same time accomplish worthy school objectives.

There will, however, be many teachers whose personal goals will not be satisfied through any incentive arrangements such as those

be invited. Despite the desirability of having every school worker participate, however, there should be no coercion; otherwise morale will be lowered. If the leadership is sufficiently dynamic there will be few who choose to stay out of the program, and if employees cannot be educated to see the importance of keeping abreast of the times there is little likelihood of their profiting from forced participation in an in-service education project.

Too often the school board is forgotten when plans for continuous growth are being discussed. Some of the recent developments in national, state, and county school board associations point to inclusion of this group in the over-all plans for in-service education. Not only is the turnover large among school board members, but the opportunities for learning the best ways and means of serving the educational interests of the community are decidedly limited. Such organizations as the School Board Institute, conducted by Teachers College, Columbia University, and those established at Pittsburgh and Syracuse universities represent one type of approach to the problem of interesting school board members in a study of current educational issues. The form that the in-service program of school board members will eventually take is unimportant; the significant consideration is that those who make policies as well as those employed to carry them out should make a determined effort to prepare themselves to render the highest service possible.

#### ORGANIZATION ESSENTIAL

A third essential in a quality program of continuous professional development is *organization and planning*.

Many administrators have been disappointed with the response of teachers to in-service education projects. Although there are perhaps exceptional situations where even an administrative genius might fail to arouse the enthusiasm of teachers in a curriculum improvement program, there are more school systems where the failure is due to poor organization and planning. No one should attempt to launch a long-term in-service education project without preparing the ground carefully, and one important phase in preparation is an efficient organization. Perhaps the one arrangement that has met with the greatest success thus far is the all-school advisory council coupled with individual building councils. If a democratic pro-

schools of participation in the program. Unless he becomes vitally interested and directly involved in it, he will not provide the overall leadership that is essential for the success of this program. No person in a subordinate role, no matter how charming or competent he may be, can substitute completely for the chief executive officer.

Where the all-school council type of organization is established, all policies related to the improvement and welfare of teachers should be referred to the council for consideration. Moreover, representatives should be encouraged to bring to council meetings any problem or any proposal which teachers in any building or group of buildings wish to have considered. The board of education must of necessity reserve the right to make the final decisions on matters that properly belong in their sphere. But a wise administrator will advise the board of education of the wishes and recommendations of a school council, and, whenever it is indicated, he will encourage the council or its representatives to present its views before the board of education.

#### PLANNING REQUIRED

Organization is the first step toward initiating a continuous development program. The second step relates to planning. The all-school council, with the assistance of the curriculum coordinator, might well be the official body for drafting tentative plans. Just what resources will be utilized will depend considerably upon the nature of the studies to be undertaken and the areas agreed upon as deserving special emphasis.

In several sections of the country, regional development councils have been formed for the purpose of exchanging ideas on instructional matters and for carrying on studies of common problems. They are often well-financed and staffed. When possible, the planning committee will be wise to take full advantage of the resources of this agency. The curriculum coordinator or a steering committee will need to provide guidance as to how the services and materials provided by these regional councils may best be used in promoting the local program.

Similarly, consultant service, if wisely used, can contribute much

to the success of an in-service education program. The planning committee, through the superintendent of schools, should urge the board of education to provide for the cost of such service in the annual budget. The amount necessary will depend upon the readiness of teachers to profit from outside help. In most instances the actual cost will be relatively small. The coordinator will undoubtedly know at what points teachers and committees can best utilize the help of an outside consultant, and this responsibility for arrangements should be delegated to him within the limits of the budget.

Local leadership will have to shoulder the major responsibility for the in-service education program, and thoughtful consideration will need to be given to the special abilities and resources of supervisors, principals, and classroom teachers. The superintendent of schools should take the initiative in this search for leadership. It should be understood that leadership, as it develops during the course of the program, will be recognized wherever it appears, and that the original assignment of advisers will be made for limited periods of time only. Any attempt to force teacher committees to accept advisers is likely to result in negative reactions on the part of many staff members. If a supervisor is unable to establish his leadership, his services should be utilized somewhere else in the program or dispensed with altogether.

#### A VARIETY OF MEDIA ESSENTIAL

If a sound plan of organization has been developed and the preliminary plans for a long-term in-service education program carefully drawn, the likelihood of getting off to a running start is good.

The fourth element in an enlightened program of professional development is *the utilization of a wide variety of media*. Dependence upon any one vehicle to carry teachers to high levels of efficiency is likely to prove disappointing. Teachers represent a wide range of interests and their needs vary greatly. In order to reach the whole staff and secure their wholehearted participation, several activities are required. Five well-established media are discussed in the following pages: workshops, faculty meetings, classroom supervision, teacher rating, and individual-growth stimulation.

## THE PLACE OF WORKSHOPS IN THE PROGRAM

The part that local workshops should play in the improvement of instructional efficiency is another decision which the council and administration will need to consider. There are good workshops and poor workshops, and a primary factor in their success relates to planning. Unless the interests and needs of the group have been canvassed well in advance, and unless constructive help can be given to staff committees and individual teachers, the workshop program will amount to little more than a social get-together. Moreover, unless teachers are wholeheartedly in favor of the idea, it is probable that the time is not yet ripe for holding a workshop.

There is much controversy over how much or how little "structuring" is desirable in organizing and operating a workshop. However, nearly everyone agrees that there must be preplanning, that competent consultants must be available, and that provision must be made for evaluation of both accomplishment and procedures. There is also agreement that considerable flexibility in conducting the workshop is desirable if individual teacher needs are to be adequately considered.

Unless provision is made in the planning and organization of a workshop for implementing the proposals growing out of the study of workshop committees, the staff will lose interest. One of the most observable weaknesses of committee or group work as commonly organized is that often few improvements result from the time and effort spent. This is due to the fact that no one has been charged with the responsibility of translating workshop proposals into action. Before the workshop is terminated, specific provision should be made for carrying out plans that have the full sanction of the staff.

## FACULTY MEETINGS

Despite the wide use of faculty meetings as a means of promoting the in-service growth of the professional staff, they are not popular with the rank and file of teachers. This fact is due in part to the intrusion which these meetings have usually made on the teacher's free time, and in part to the unimaginative nature of the meetings themselves. Often teachers are bored with both the content

teacher opinion on the topics that deserve consideration. Otherwise the in-service growth aspects of the program will have been largely lost.

One obstacle in the way of popularizing faculty meetings is the time they are held. Teachers want to clean up their desk work and go home as soon as possible after pupils leave. If meetings are scheduled early in the morning before pupils arrive, the teacher's customary routine is disturbed, and, at best, very little time is available for discussion of the items on the agenda. A hurried meeting is usually unsatisfactory. The best arrangement for faculty meetings is to schedule them near the close of the regular school day, perhaps from 2 to 4 P.M. This will only require a slight shortening of the hours pupils are in school and will not necessitate extending the school day for teachers. Most regulations call for teachers to remain in the building for a short time after classes are dismissed. Although teachers will have to adjust their planning arrangements, on the days faculty meetings are held, to care for the time lost, which otherwise would have probably been devoted to keeping records or planning the next day's work, the sacrifice required is small and is not likely to arouse staff opposition. If such an arrangement is proposed, the superintendent of schools will need to educate the board of education to the importance of faculty planning and policy formulation.

It was suggested earlier that faculty meetings might be held from 2 to 4 P.M. Part of this period should be used to serve refreshments. This will have a favorable psychological effect on the staff and will make for a good atmosphere in which to hold the more formal part of the program. Teachers are usually tired at the close of the school day, and the break suggested will serve to give them a chance to catch their breath.

Often a regular classroom is selected as the place to hold a faculty meeting. This is about the worst spot possible, from the standpoint of facilitating a good discussion. The seats are usually uncomfortable for adults; moreover, they can seldom be so arranged that everyone is visible to everyone else. Some room should be selected where the chairs are comfortable and can be arranged in a semi-circle or a square. Easels, bulletin boards, a blackboard, and a screen should be available so that various types of visual aids can be used.

## GENERAL FEATURES OF MEETING

There is no standard pattern for conducting a faculty meeting, and it seems unlikely that one will be developed. Much depends upon the interests and skill of the participants. If the discussion leader understands his role and doesn't attempt to lecture, recognizes the pertinent contributions of other staff members, maintains an atmosphere of impartiality, gives direction to the discussion, seeks diligently to get agreements, and summarizes what he believes to be the high spots in the discussion, he will be following the best procedure known to date. Supervisors and administrators should have no preferred status in the group. If, as is usually the case, they have important facts and ideas to contribute, they should offer them freely, being careful not to consume an undue portion of the time set aside for the meeting. They are there as consultants and as such they should wait for their cue before offering advice and counsel. It is almost impossible for administrators and supervisors to sense fully the self-consciousness produced among teachers not only by the comments of their superior officers but even by the mere fact of their presence. Tradition has given these officials a status in the minds of teachers, and their role in faculty meetings historically has been a dominant one; this is all the more reason for encouraging teachers to assume the major responsibility for the discussion.

A faculty meeting can serve many purposes in a program of in-service education. It can serve as a means of getting teachers involved emotionally in improving existing practices and procedures; it can develop leadership ability on the part of individual teachers; it can enlarge the perspective of teachers and serve as a sort of mirror for their own shortcomings; it can develop skill in using group methods and democratic procedures; it can serve to unify a staff and weld them into a team; it can be the means of resolving many perplexing and sometimes irritating school problems. In short, faculty meetings, if wisely planned and conducted, are a powerful medium both for building a great staff of teachers and for improving the quality of education.

What has been said about building meetings applies, in most respects, to general staff meetings involving all the teachers in the school system. There are a few principles that deserve special

mention. General faculty meetings should not be held often; they should deal with general problems and be planned in relationship to the needs of the majority; and they should be concerned occasionally with discussions not directly related to professional education. The all-school council or a general steering committee should play a major role in the planning of general faculty meetings.

The all-school advisory council will be sensitive to what is going on in individual school faculty meetings and will therefore be in a good position to know what to bring to the meetings of the professional staff as a whole. When ideas and proposals reach the stage when it would be advantageous to have them presented for the consideration of all the teachers, then a general faculty meeting will serve a useful purpose.

Instead of limiting faculty meetings exclusively to discussions of pedagogical matters, a few school systems have arranged meetings on topics of a general cultural nature, with the hope in mind that the perspective of the professional staff will be broadened. Every school system should explore the interests and needs of the staff with respect to general meetings. In some situations it may be wise to break away from a discussion of local school problems, or, for that matter, from the field of education itself, for limited periods of time. In other situations teachers may profit more from a discussion of instructional problems. It is a relatively simple matter to inquire regarding the preferences of the staff.

## THE ROLE OF SUPERVISION

For many decades public school systems have placed more reliance on classroom supervision as a means of improving teachers in service than on any other single medium. This point of view originated in the last century. When Horace Mann and Henry Barnard realized that they had won the first round of their fight for public education, and that almost overnight schools must be extended and established to care for hundreds of thousands of children who were never before eligible for the benefits of public education, they were compelled to suggest ways and means of supplying teachers. Trained teachers were obviously not available. There were no state teachers colleges and there were only a few poorly-equipped normal schools to provide the few months of instruction in pedagogy

deemed desirable for beginning teachers. All sorts of temporary arrangements were made to meet the emergency. Prospective teachers and experienced teachers attended institutes where instruction in the art of teaching was given. Summer schools for teachers were established; reading circles became popular. But the public schools of the nineteenth century would have met with little success in the minds of the public if it had not been for the confidence which the latter placed in supervision. People were acquainted with the practices followed in industry and business, where skilled foremen were placed in charge of unskilled laborers and where, by close attention and direction, it was possible to accomplish several times as much as could be achieved by the unskilled workers without the supervisor. Similarly, supervision in schools was originally designed to bolster up programs that otherwise would have tottered because of the inadequate preparation of teachers for the tasks confronting them.

Supervision, then, was largely a teacher training function. This conception obtained throughout the nineteenth century and, until a few decades ago, the principal was looked upon as a kind of foreman who through close supervision helped to compensate for ignorance and lack of skill of his subordinates. An important responsibility of the principal was to help individual teachers overcome their handicaps, to assist them with specific teaching problems, to take over classes on occasion, and to demonstrate to the teacher exactly how the job should be done. As one author sums it up, "It was necessary to tell her what to do, how to do it and when to do it. It was useless to tell her why, because she would not have understood."<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century and for the first two decades of the twentieth century, teacher training remained a major function of supervision. And there can be no doubt about the importance of this service to public education. As late as 1921, there were only four states that required, in addition to high school graduation, some professional training (less than one year) for certification, and only fourteen states stipulated four years of secondary education in their requirements. Although admittedly many communities exceeded the minimum levels laid down in the certification laws, there were lit-

<sup>2</sup> Alonzo Myers, *Cooperative Supervision in the Public Schools* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938), p. 17.

erally thousands of teachers who entered teaching without any real professional preparation for their jobs; in fact, in 1922, according to a report of the Research Division of the National Education Association, less than one-half of the teachers in the United States had as much as two years of college preparation.<sup>2</sup>

During the past three decades the conditions just described have changed markedly and, except for the emergency licenses granted since World War II, teachers today are commonly as well prepared in their field of specialization as are principals and supervisors. Many teachers now are true professional artists, and the original reasons which gave rise to classroom supervision are fast dwindling away. The basic preparation of teachers is provided by teachers colleges and by departments or schools of education in colleges and universities. It is important for students of education to reflect on this historical sketch because of the tendency for school systems to hang on to traditional practices long after their major usefulness is past. This is not meant to imply that classroom supervision has no place in the modern school. But it does raise serious questions as to just what function it should serve in a program of continuous professional growth.

Certainly a highly qualified teacher who has served an apprenticeship and won his spurs shouldn't be subordinated to anyone so far as his methods of teaching are concerned. He should be as free as a physician or any other professional worker to follow the procedures which his preparation, his experience, and his own thinking suggest. The gains that medicine has made in the past half century probably would not have been achieved without the freedom that members of this profession have enjoyed. Teachers should be encouraged to stand on their own feet, to think for themselves, and to choose the course of action that they believe the situation demands. The concepts underlying current supervisory practice in many school systems still have a stifling influence on the growth of teachers. Freedom is essential for the release of a teacher's full potentialities.

If this point of view has any merit, it should lead to several modifications in policy and procedure. It seems that the point at

<sup>2</sup> *Facts on State Educational Needs*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, January, 1923), p. 43.

which the board of education grants teachers permanent status is a good time to free them from classroom supervision as a specific means of improving them. In states where tenure laws have been enacted this would be at the end of 2 to 5 years, depending upon the length of the probationary period as stipulated in the statute. The logic behind this is that, since the selection process is still going on during the probationary period, the employee has not yet completed his internship, and hence local school systems cannot wisely free him from close supervision and continuous appraisal.

During this apprenticeship, principals and supervisors would visit classes, hold conferences, give demonstration performances, and employ whatever evaluation procedures seemed to be most promising for the improvement of the teacher, and for discovering individual strengths and weaknesses. Obviously, sound psychological principles should be followed in dealing with these teachers as with other employees. But it would be clearly understood when the original contracts were drawn that the first few years of employment were viewed as a period of apprenticeship. Physicians serve a comparable internship, during which relatively little freedom is granted them.

As soon as teachers are accorded permanent status by the board of education, they should be free of the type of classroom supervision which has as its function specific help for the individual whose work is supervised. If an experienced teacher asks for assistance and wants his classroom performance to be appraised, his request should be granted. But unless he calls for help, the principal and supervisor should not disturb him. The exception to this general policy would be in cases of "breakdowns." Individual teachers may occasionally lose control of their classes or suffer some disability which cannot wisely be ignored. It isn't necessary, however, to appraise the work of all teachers through classroom visitation and supervision in order to discover "breakdowns." The principal has many ways of finding out when and where things are not going well. Parents, other teachers in the building, and pupils will lose no time advising him of any abnormal situation which requires his attention. When this condition arises, freedom must be temporarily withdrawn in the interests of pupil welfare.

This does not imply that principals and supervisors should not visit the classrooms of permanent teachers. One of the major func-

tions of supervision is to provide leadership and coordination of the instructional activities of the school. To accomplish this it is necessary to know what is taking place in the various classrooms; to learn what special techniques teachers are employing, what subject matter is being stressed, and what instructional materials are being used. However, the purposes to be accomplished through the supervisory visit are entirely different from the one discussed earlier. There is no suggestion in this latter procedure that the principal or supervisor knows better how to teach than the teacher whose class is observed; no thought of trying to improve the individual teacher directly as a result of the visit; no follow-up conference to point out strengths and weaknesses. Rather, the purpose of the supervisor is to learn in order to coordinate the program.

There is still another function that supervision should serve, and that is to provide teachers with special resources which would not otherwise be made available. This, of course, has implications beyond classroom visitation. However, in order to facilitate teaching, a principal or supervisor must be thoroughly familiar with the resources that are now being utilized by teachers and the situations for which new and more effective resources are needed. From classroom observation and discussion with teachers, the supervisor gets ideas, regarding teaching aids and devices, which can be explored and shared with the whole staff. Many of the best suggestions regarding resources are likely to come out of committee study and discussion, but classroom visitation by supervisors and principals is also a good avenue for discovering resources.

The suggestion that supervision has a major responsibility for the improvement of teachers may appear contradictory at this point, but this view is entirely consistent with what has been discussed earlier. The supervisory process is indirect as far as influencing the experienced members of the staff is concerned, and it involves working with groups more than with individuals.

Many administrators and supervisors are fully aware of the fact that adult behavior is seldom improved through direct appraisal and criticism. These students of human nature have long since abandoned the frontal attack on the attitudes and conduct of employees and have taken a more subtle approach. A teacher's performance is so closely tied up with his feelings about "self" that when he is criticized by his principal or supervisor he is likely to be so dis-

tered primarily for the purpose of improving teacher growth as vigorously as they have those which were used as a means of determining salary promotion, teachers as a group are nevertheless skeptical of the value of the typical assessment arrangement. They are fearful that it may become a whip in the hands of the administration. Recent data on the prevalence of teacher rating schemes indicate that approximately one sixth of the city school systems still require at least one formal rating per year of each teacher's performance.<sup>4</sup> In many cities this is admittedly rather perfunctory and has little effect on the status of teachers. Some educators are strong in their support of a systematic appraisal of employee achievement, but the pressure to rate teachers comes mostly from those outside the profession of teaching. Laymen tend to view teachers as they do workers in industry and see no logical reason for treating them differently. They expect superintendents and principals to make periodic assessments of individual teacher performance both as a basis for improvement in service and as a basis for determining salary.<sup>5</sup>

There are a number of considerations which the school board and the school administrator should weigh, however, in reaching sound conclusions regarding teacher rating. It is important, whatever policy is adopted, that teacher morale be maintained at a high level; otherwise the improvement program will be a great disappointment. It is important that relationships, between principals and supervisors on the one hand and teachers on the other, be cordial and friendly; otherwise the school program will suffer. If a rating scheme is to be employed it is essential that it uncover strengths and weaknesses in teachers and teaching and be a valid and reliable instrument for determining teacher competence. Of equal importance is the effect a system of teacher evaluation has on the use of supervisory time and effort. A pertinent question to ask is: Will the time spent by supervisors and principals in assessing the individual achievement of classroom teachers produce as much professional growth as if it were spent in other supervisory and leadership activities? This last consideration is basic, since the pri-

<sup>4</sup> *Teacher Personnel Procedures, 1950-1951: Employment Conditions in Service*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, April, 1952), p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter 8 for discussion of merit rating for purposes of determining salaries.

walk, Conn. In 1950 the Board of Education proposed to apply a rating scheme to experienced teachers. It had been customary to use ratings in determining the efficiency of probationary teachers. The proposal to extend it became a matter of first importance to the Norwalk Teachers Association, and their protests were loud and long. There were no supporters among the teachers. The board relented but insisted that some substitute plan of evaluation be devised. That the suggestion of applying efficiency ratings to teachers generally stirred up the staff and affected morale is beyond question.

Some critics may contend that Norwalk is unique, as is evidenced by the recent history of school affairs in that community. But the reactions of teachers in many other school systems to rating are almost identical.

For many years teachers have had it pounded into their heads often by administrators and boards of education that individual appraisal is the only sound method by which instruction can be improved. When asked a question such as that posed in the N.E.A. study, "Should teachers be given efficiency ratings?" teachers tend to write down what they have been told is the right answer. This is partly due to the fact that they haven't been educated to the point of view inherent in modern supervision. Since the attitude of teachers toward administrative and supervisory personnel is an important factor in determining staff efficiency, superintendents of schools and boards of education would be wise to reflect on the wisdom of introducing a system of merit rating as a means of stimulating teacher growth. Unless it can be done with the enthusiastic support of classroom teachers, it is a doubtful step to take.

*2. Rating schemes that call for critical appraisal of individual teacher achievement tend to create a gap between principals and supervisors on the one hand and classroom teachers on the other hand.*

There are few experienced teachers who are sufficiently secure in their emotional make-up to profit from direct criticism or, for that matter, to accept it at face value. Since in some school systems it is up to teachers "to do or die" and "not theirs to question why," they bow to higher authority and appear to acquiesce. Outwardly they modify their classroom procedures. But emotionally they often do not accept the counsel proffered and they resent the criticism.

Hence their relations with the supervisory staff worsen and the situation does not augur well for professional growth.

It is an interesting fact that many superintendents, principals, and supervisors have little insight as to how teachers really feel toward them and their administrative procedures. Often the last person to find out where the sore spots are in a school system is an administrator or supervisor. The basic reason for this is that communication between staff and administration is usually bad, and communication is likely to deteriorate still further when merit rating is introduced. Many school boards and administrators realizing the truth of this generalization do not permit supervisors to participate in rating when salary promotion is involved. They want to maintain good rapport between supervisor and teacher. Although there are admittedly some differences between evaluation for the purpose of improving teaching procedures and evaluation for salary promotion, there are many common factors in the two procedures. If the appraisal is at all critical and some teachers are awarded low ratings, then the rapport is almost bound to be disturbed. If the evaluation is limited to ratings of satisfactory or unsatisfactory it provides little or no guidance. The development of a team spirit is not fostered when principals and supervisors focus their attention on the assessment of one another's strengths and weaknesses. It is perhaps significant that college and university administrators have generally fought shy of rating schemes as a means of improving faculty members.

3. *Existing rating devices often do not measure what they purport to measure and, in addition, the ratings accorded often are not reliable.*

Educators are not fully agreed on the characteristics of the ideal teacher or the essentials of good teaching; therefore, the content of most rating forms is open to serious question. Many rating forms include items that have little relationship to teaching efficiency. Such qualities or traits as classroom housekeeping, dependability in school routine, posture, appearance, and participation in committee activities may deserve emphasis in teacher selection, but there is no assurance in any studies that have been made that they bear any relationship whatsoever to teaching efficiency. With few exceptions, rating forms are locally developed and their content rests on a flimsy foundation as far as validity is concerned. The one exception

that deserves mention is the approach used by McCall in North Carolina in what is perhaps the most thought-provoking study of teacher merit yet published. Twelve general characteristics of the ideal elementary teacher were identified and validated in this study.<sup>8</sup> But only one of the twelve factors has any direct significance for improving teachers in service, and that is "He will be considered by his pupils to be clean, have good manners, be able to control his temper, be kind, and be a good citizen."

All the other characteristics which the McCall study found to be closely related to quality were characteristics that the individual probably brought with him when he first applied for a teaching job. It seems highly unlikely that an in-service education program based on efficiency ratings would modify them in any respect. To illustrate: Most authorities are agreed that teachers can do little about changing their intelligence, yet one characteristic of an ideal teacher is that he "will have superior intelligence." Another characteristic which McCall found highly important was, "He will be a person who reads widely and has a variety of cultural interests and activities." Undoubtedly, some minor changes can be brought about in experienced teachers with respect to this item through a good supervisory program. But if school administrators are wise they will inquire about this when the candidate is being considered for the vacancy. Most adults do not suddenly change their whole pattern of life by having some basic weakness pointed out to them. They may resolve to change but only a few will develop genuine scholarly interests unless the foundation has been laid early. Moreover, group efforts are more effective in accomplishing these transformations in interests and behavior patterns than is a direct approach through rating. The McCall study of teacher efficiency was a gigantic effort and, by contrast, the local attempts to rate teacher performance in city school systems are woefully feeble, to state the case conservatively. The items on the rating form relating to teacher qualifications are those that a staff committee, or administrators and supervisors, deem to be associated with teaching efficiency. No rigid test is applied to determine their validity and it is certain that many of the items found on the typical teacher rating blank

<sup>8</sup>William A. McCall, *Measurement of Teacher Merit*, Publication No. 284 (Raleigh, N. C.: State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1952), p. 35.

have little or no relationship to the real achievements of the teacher.

But as questionable as the matter of validity is, it isn't nearly so disturbing to teachers as the problem of reliability. In order to obtain high reliability, it is necessary to have several ratings per year, preferably by a number of different raters. This requires the expenditure of many hours of class observation by supervisors and principals for each teacher rated. Administrators freely admit that in most school systems teachers are not rated oftener than two or three times a year, and in some systems only once a year. Although it is true that most behavior traits do not require seven or eight observations by trained raters, to produce high reliability there are certain phases of teacher performance and certain traits which cannot be reliably determined by two or three visits to a classroom, and some that may not be accurately assessed even with nine or ten separate evaluations.

If one were to accept the trait of being able to control one's temper as an important item in determining teacher efficiency, then one must decide how many observations or measures are necessary to reach a valid conclusion. Certainly, if a teacher were observed to be angry once during the year, that wouldn't constitute *prima facie* evidence that he had not learned to control his temper. And though it is agreed that "one swallow does not make a summer," how many swallows do? How many times must a teacher "blow his top" before he can be judged to be explosive or irate? This type of question has not seemed to disturb most raters, yet it strikes right at the heart of the problem of reliability.

There can be no doubt that teachers have abundant reason for their skepticism regarding both the validity and reliability of the procedures now employed in evaluating their efficiency.

4. *The time devoted by supervisors and administrators to the evaluation of individual teacher performance might more profitably be spent on other in-service education activities.*

The direction in which modern supervision is moving in the United States, judging by the literature and the programs of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, is entirely inconsistent with the conception inherent in teacher rating. The modern point of view regarding in-service education accords super-

visors and principals a peer relationship with teachers; it breaks down the old barriers because it removes the whip that was formerly relied upon to keep teachers growing. Psychology has shown clearly the wisdom of discarding this primitive weapon, and has suggested as a substitute more powerful incentives that stem from making teachers partners in the business of professional growth. Group processes are rapidly replacing the typical supervisory procedures of yesterday. This modification calls for leadership on the part of supervisors, consultants, principals, and central office staff in planning and in coordinating the efforts of teachers.

In some of the better school systems today the variety of in-service education activities that are being fostered has the leadership taxed to its capacity. If the theory is sound that growth is best brought about by group study and through group activities, then surely the leadership time required to guide and encourage these projects cannot wisely be expended on rating the performance of individual teachers. Most school systems are lagging far behind the needs of youth in their curriculum programs. The revisions essential for bringing the curriculum into line with the demands of our society can only be brought about through cooperative undertakings involving pupils, teachers, supervisors, administrators, and lay citizens. Anyone who has given thought to the leadership tasks inherent in a sound program of curriculum improvement can scarcely fail to realize that there are prodigious tasks confronting our supervisory and administrative personnel. If rating is really as important as some of its proponents believe, the only hope for meeting the situation lies in doubling our administrative and supervisory costs. School systems cannot fulfill both responsibilities with their present staffs.

#### GROUP EVALUATION

One alternative to a rating scheme designed to measure the individual achievement of teachers is group evaluation. Teachers, principals, the central supervisory and administrative staff, board of education members, and interested laymen all need to be reassured about the success of the public school venture. The problem of evaluation should not be dismissed simply because the old approach doesn't produce favorable results. If wisely planned, evaluation can

be a stimulus to teacher growth and an indispensable aid in program planning. Without it neither the individual employee nor the group as a whole can sense fully the unmet needs or the accomplishments of the school system. There is a growing opinion that group evaluation is the most promising answer to the appraisal problem. It is in harmony with the general direction in which supervision and in-service education media are moving.

One student of the problem has suggested an interesting pattern of organization for such a program of evaluation.<sup>9</sup> It calls for appraisal of achievement by the staff assigned to each individual building unit, with the assistance of those supervisory staff members who have a direct relationship with the school program. In other words, the building principal, classroom teachers, and those central office supervisors whose work brings them regularly in close association with the staff of the school would constitute a team to evaluate the program and the achievements of an individual school.

Specifically, the evaluation team would assess progress along at least three lines: (1) staff growth, (2) achievements of pupils, and (3) the school's contribution to community improvements. When the evidence was assembled, it would be written up in report form and submitted to the superintendent of schools and the board of education. Although the frequency of these appraisals was not specifically indicated in the proposal, there was an implication in the thesis that reports would be made periodically. Presumably, because of the size and nature of the project, it would not be feasible to report oftener than once every three to five years.

Some curriculum specialists strongly emphasize the importance of continuous evaluation and look with suspicion on any proposal which suggests a beginning and an end. However, there is nothing in the plan discussed above which prevents continuous appraisal. Periodic stock-taking need not interfere with day-to-day evaluations by the staff.

One of the significant by-products of group evaluation is that it would help to focus every professional worker's attention on objectives. There is no purpose in setting up evaluation machinery until some agreement has been reached on important areas to be meas-

<sup>9</sup>O. H. Aurand, *Evaluating Professional Service in Public Schools*, Unpublished doctoral project report (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1948).

ured. This immediately calls for the development of clearly defined goals. The process of thinking through the problem of objectives will definitely result in a clearer understanding by the staff of just what it is the school is trying to accomplish. Moreover, it will help each staff member appreciate where his efforts fit into the total picture. Many, if not most, school systems have made some study of goals in connection with a curriculum improvement program. But relatively few school staffs have come to grips with the all important question of just what it is their particular school program aims to accomplish. Strange as it may appear to some, teachers generally have not given much thought to this problem but have been satisfied mostly to accept the objectives which national or state committees have defined in their curriculum reports. As a result, the matter of the school's particular goals have been a concern chiefly of principals and supervisory staff. The necessity of formulating specific objectives would constitute a real challenge to teachers.

There are various ways of organizing to carry out a program of evaluation.<sup>10</sup> The size of the staff will determine to some extent the number of committees that can be effectively formed. Certainly there will be need for a coordinating committee to assemble and interpret the evidence. A committee on staff growth and one on community improvement would also seem to be required. In assessing pupil achievements, there is room for several committees to function. In school systems where advisory councils have been formed, it would be logical for this body to initiate the planning and take the major responsibility for coordinating the efforts of the staff. Principals and supervisors should serve in the capacity of consultants and should provide the stimulation that is necessary for carrying out the project. Unless the job is well organized and responsibilities carefully defined and delegated, there will be a tendency for the project to bog down.

There are those who contend that sooner or later group evaluation gets around to individual teacher appraisal, on the theory that the whole is equal to the sum of its parts. But there is a significant

<sup>10</sup> The Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards provides the most thorough approach to group evaluation that has yet been developed. See *Evaluation Criteria Manual*, 1950 Edition, Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, Washington, D. C.

difference because of the focus. An individual teacher's growth, as evidenced by professional study, travel, work experience, or some other activity of acknowledged significance, would not appear in the appraisal report, but the team's standing would be emphasized. Moreover, the group pressure on the staff to keep abreast of current professional developments is more effective than pressure from the administration. The very process of analyzing what the elements are in staff growth would be efficacious.

Obviously, the worth of this type of evaluation would be conditioned by the way the reports were used. If they were made available to the whole staff of the school system and to interested citizens, they might well stimulate interest and be helpful to various school committees in planning future evaluation projects. If, however, the reports were used primarily to compare the achievements of pupils in one school with those in others the reports might easily result in more harm than good.

A basic consideration in an evaluation project of the character just described relates to the purpose which it is designed to serve. When the primary object is to improve the quality of services provided by the schools, then the board of education and the superintendent of schools will use the information in the reports in such a way as to promote the interests of children. This is not to imply that guidance should not be offered to school staffs where little or no progress is evident from the appraisal, or where the staff has failed to recognize unmet needs. But the spirit of the central administration with respect to the evaluation process will largely determine its effectiveness.

#### SELF-EVALUATION

The group approach to evaluation is one form of self-evaluation. But there is also a need for the individual to take stock of what he alone is contributing to the enterprise and what steps he should take to improve his own efficiency. The real test of a teacher's worth is his contribution to the growth of his pupils. Anything he can do to add to his ability to produce growth in pupils will make him a more valuable member of the staff.

There are no valid self-rating scales by which a teacher can rate his efficiency. There are, however, some scales and check lists

"ism" or "ology"; and, if wisely applied, it will not restrict the teacher's methods to any standard pattern. It also has a cooperative feature, which encourages self-analysis and criticism.

If appraisals are made periodically, the type of information that can be gleaned from the *Ohio Teaching Record* observation form could be most useful in helping young teachers improve the quality of their work.

Where local evaluation schemes have been developed for use with beginning teachers, the question of validity and reliability should be carefully reviewed. Fewer mistakes will be made in the assessment of teacher efficiency if supervisors employ the same criteria and make their appraisals often enough to avoid sampling errors.

Since principals and supervisors are certain to be called upon by the superintendent of schools to make recommendations regarding the future promise of probationary teachers, they should keep a cumulative record on each teacher's performance. As Reavis and Cooper point out so explicitly, the cumulative history of a teacher's accomplishments provides a much more reliable record of strengths and weaknesses than can be obtained from supervisory observations extending over a very limited period of time.<sup>12</sup>

#### EVALUATION IN EXCEPTIONAL CASES

Practical school administrators know that a few experienced teachers in every city school system fail to respond to the stimuli provided by the program of in-service education. The efficiency of some of these teachers may deteriorate to the point where positive action is essential. In such cases, what steps should be taken?

Whatever the situation, it is important to recognize that policies should be formulated and adopted in terms of the needs and characteristics of the majority of teachers, not the minority who deviate from the norm. The vast majority of classroom teachers, when given wise leadership, will respond positively to an atmosphere of freedom, and their efficiency will be enhanced rather than diminished by it. But this does not mean that appraisal procedures should

<sup>12</sup> William C. Reavis and Dan H. Cooper, "Evaluation of Teacher Merit in City School Systems," *Supplementary Educational Monographs*, No. 59 (Chicago: The University of Chicago, January, 1945).

never be applied to teachers who have earned permanent status. If a teacher's efficiency becomes so obviously low that the welfare of pupils is at stake, then the administrative and supervisory staff should be called in to assess the situation and such action should be taken as conditions warrant. The diagnosis may suggest the need for a leave of absence, and, in certain cases, early retirement or permanent separation from the school system may be indicated. Frank, courageous action should be taken when it becomes evident that efficiency standards are not being maintained. Principals and supervisors, in carrying out their regular duties, cannot help but discover "breakdowns" when they occur. The symptoms are unmistakable.

### INDIVIDUAL GROWTH PROJECTS

It would be a serious mistake to assume that teachers can profit only from group activities, and that all attempts at self-improvement through individual study, work experience, or travel are largely wasted. When wisely planned, these latter efforts tend to enrich the background of teachers and add greatly to their efficiency.

Many school systems use salary incentives to encourage teachers to continue their professional training, and some school systems recognize foreign travel and work experience in their salary provisions. A small number of school systems have rewarded teachers for professional articles which the latter have written for publication. Just how far it is reasonable to go in establishing salary incentives for such activities is a moot question. When equivalents for graduate study are allowed, the problem of administration is a baffling one, since many of the experiences that conceivably have great potential value for teachers are not easy to assay in particular cases. But there can be no doubt about the need for encouraging teachers to fill in the gaps in their educational and experiential background.

Principals and supervisors can help teachers in drafting their summer and sabbatical leave plans. The more knowledge the former have about educational institutions and their offerings, and the more alert they are to travel and work experience opportunities, the more effective their counsel will be.

In a discussion of "Equivalents for Graduate Study," C. H.

Threlkeld, Supervising Principal at South Orange-Maplewood, N. J., cited the following illustrations to indicate the variety of experiences which his school system considered to be worthy of recognition on the salary schedule:

A teacher of Spanish spent a summer in Mexico.

A teacher of instrumental music participated in the Fred Waring Music Workshop.

A teacher of elementary school social studies made an extensive tour of the United States during which she took several hundred pictures for use in her classes.

A teacher of drafting interviewed the officers of several large industrial organizations to determine what was generally expected of employees who do drafting. His report resulted in revision of drafting courses in the high school.

A teacher of Latin devoted two weeks to a study of the materials in the classical library housed at Vanderbilt University.

A teacher of economics visited and studied the organization of several large corporations, business firms, insurance companies, and banking institutions.

A teacher of physical education required to teach dancing to high school girls engaged in private study with a professional dancing teacher.

A teacher of English published some articles in a magazine.

A librarian worked in a large library during her summer vacation.

It can be easily appreciated how experiences of the type just enumerated can contribute to an in-service education program. There are many types of staff growth, however, which school systems cannot recognize formally but which are nevertheless significant for the welfare of pupils. Teachers who read widely and try to keep informed on what's going on in the world are better teachers because of this fact. Teachers who attend operas or concerts or plays, and those who follow the world of sports, are acquiring knowledge that has relevance for their work with young people.

It is unlikely that the administration will be successful in any direct effort to arouse the interest of teachers in such activities as those just mentioned. But, through example and through praise and recognition for evidences of alertness in these fields, the supervisory and administrative staff can arouse interest in a wide variety of cultural, professional, and recreational activities that bear directly on teacher growth.

Probably the greatest source of stimulation to participate in such activities as those just discussed will come from teachers them-

selves, as they study their common problems in workshops and faculty meetings and as they take stock of their needs and their accomplishments. In an atmosphere that is charged with inspiration and enthusiasm, individual staff members will inevitably be motivated to extend their knowledge and their interests.

### SUMMARY

An in-service education program is indispensable in a modern school system. It is the only promising means of keeping the employees abreast of the times, of avoiding the ruts which workers in all walks of life tend to get into, of welding the staff together into an effective team, and of providing the group activity so essential for individual growth.

There are at least four essential elements in an effective program of staff development. These are:

1. *That it be sound psychologically.*

Specifically, it should be based on the interests and concerns of employees; it should conform to the principle of learning to do by doing; and it should provide real incentives and take account of the needs of individuals for recognition and praise.

2. *That provision be made for stimulating the growth of all groups of educational workers, including administrators, members of the board of education, supervisors, teachers, secretaries, and custodians.*

No coercion should be used to achieve wide participation. Reliance should be placed on leadership.

3. *That careful attention be given to organization and planning before embarking on a comprehensive program.*

Basic requirements suggest individual school advisory councils or some similar type of organization, an all school council or central advisory committee, and a coordinator of instruction. Planning should include canvass of local leadership, inventory of regional resources, and a tentative blueprint of the whole program.

4. *That a variety of media be utilized in order to meet the needs and interests of the whole staff.*

Among the more popular vehicles for developing staff efficiency are the following: the workshop, faculty meetings, supervision, evaluation, and individual-growth stimulation.

Whatever media are used, it is highly essential that democratic principles be observed in administering the program. The experienced members of the professional staff should be accorded a high degree of freedom in carrying on their work, and antiquated methods of supervision and evaluation should be replaced by procedures that are more appropriate for a modern staff. The role of principals and supervisors should be largely that of resource consultants, their chief responsibility being to facilitate and enrich the experiences of classroom teachers. Although group activities and efforts, because of their contribution to individual growth as well as their significance for the welfare of the total staff, should receive major emphasis, encouragement should also be given to individual teachers to fill in the gaps in their background of training and experience.

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## —10— PERSONNEL RECORDS

A system of personnel records should serve several important functions. First of all, it should provide the board of education and the administration with the essential data for carrying on, economically and efficiently, the everyday business of the school enterprise. Salaries are determined upon years of training and experience; the amount of sick leave with pay is often contingent upon the number of years taught in the school system; promotions are frequently dependent upon fulfillment of in-service education requirements; the extra duties assigned teachers usually bear some relationship to bobbies, interests, and special accomplishments; reports to the state department of education often include data bearing on certification. In short, a wide variety of detailed information on personnel is essential for efficient school administration.

A comprehensive record system also makes it possible to study and report trends and to analyze specific personnel problems. It is sometimes desirable to compare the status of teachers at a given time with conditions that obtained at a prior date. Unless the data are systematically recorded and filed, such comparisons will be exceedingly difficult, if not impractical. The year 1940 is often used as a base year because the former Consumer Price Index, of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, for the 1935-1939 period is 100.<sup>1</sup> A study of salary trends since 1939-1940 throws light on how well teachers and other employees have fared. But comparisons are frequently not valid because the data are not complete. To illustrate: If the average salary of teachers in a school system in 1940 was \$2,800, and in 1954 it had risen to \$5,500, one might assume that teachers' salaries had more than kept pace with the increased cost of living. But did this school system have a comparable group of teachers throughout the period under consideration, or was the

<sup>1</sup> For discussion of Cost of Living Index, see pp. 134-135.

composition of the staff in 1940 quite different from what it was in 1954? Facts on the preparation of teachers, the proportion of men and women, marital status, age, and experience—these are important considerations that bear on the validity of such a comparison. To make a thoroughly sound study of trends, accurate personnel data must be available for each year used in the comparison.

Similarly, a specific personnel problem, such as the cost of maintaining sick-leave pay, cannot be analyzed without having on file detailed data on the absences of individual teachers. Many school systems do not record teacher turnover data in any systematic fashion, and hence the real causes of turnover are not known. Only a very few school systems record the agency or person from whom the administration learned of the qualifications and availability of candidates for teaching positions. Therefore, except when the superintendent of schools happens to remember, most administrators have only a vague idea of the most helpful sources to consult in locating teaching talent. Such notations as: "Miss Helen Brown was first mentioned to us by Mr. Jones, the high school principal; Miss Emma Smith was called to our attention by Frank Evans, Director of the Placement Bureau of the University of 'Y'; Mr. George Thomas applied in person and we had no prior information on him," if available, would make it possible to analyze the origins of applications. If such data were summarized periodically, the findings could be discussed with supervisors, principals, and the board of education, and the selection procedures might be improved. There is also an accounting responsibility which cannot be met unless personnel records are efficiently kept. The public has a right to know how and for what its money is being spent. Therefore, data bearing on employee qualifications, salaries, sick leave, and in-service growth should be analyzed and reports made regularly to the public.

Still another important reason for developing and maintaining personnel records is to improve teacher efficiency. In order that supervisors and administrators can give wise counsel and be constructive in their relations with teachers, it is essential that they have access to records showing in detail the qualifications of teachers. Records should be kept that reveal the professional history of individual teachers from the time they first entered a teacher preparatory institution, with detailed information on age, marital status,

experience, educational preparation, special gifts, health, work experience, and any other personal or professional information that is related to teaching efficiency.

Although school systems have had considerable experience with personnel records, no uniform system seems to have been developed. Most city school systems have their own forms which they require applicants to fill out. These usually include requests for both personal and professional data, such as date and place of birth, marital status, early schooling, hobbies and special interests, training, experience, membership in professional organizations, and travel. Applicants are usually asked to fill this out in their own handwriting. To what extent this sample of handwriting is used in the appraisal of the applicant's qualifications is not known; probably it is merely a safeguard against some unusual writing handicap that might not be revealed through any other source. An autobiographical form is used in a few school systems as a supplement to the regular application blank. It is designed to bring out the respondent's mechanical competence with words and ideas, and to reveal something of his own personality and emotional make-up. The form sometimes provides space for brief responses to questions on the candidate's interest in teaching, his extracurricular activities, the kind of person he considers himself to be, and his own beliefs about how he stands physical strain.

Another record that should be part of the total file of a teacher is the memorandum made by the superintendent or principal on the oral interview. Often no record is made or filed. Although it can be argued that this latter procedure is superfluous in small school systems, it could conceivably play an important part later in the improvement in in-service programs. Often an interview reveals clues that warrant follow-up, even though the applicant is appointed to the vacancy. Since it is a known fact that, unless the reactions of an interviewer are written down almost immediately after the interview, many responses of applicants will be forgotten, a written memorandum is highly desirable. Some administrators use a guide containing the characteristics that are presumably related to teaching success, such as educational philosophy, emotional stability, voice and speech, humor, etc. Thus the interviewer is able to make a brief notation under each item, which should be useful later in counseling the candidate.

Another type of information which is often not gathered and filed systematically is the confidential letters from former employees and those who are qualified to make statements regarding the applicant's abilities and character. Often the candidate asks his minister, the bank cashier, and his principal to write letters in his behalf to the superintendent of schools in the school system to which he is applying for a position. These letters are almost always laudatory in character, and they seldom contain any critical opinion of the applicant's abilities or specify any of his limitations. It is becoming more and more common for school systems to send out their own confidential inquiry forms, asking searching questions of those who know the candidate's weaknesses as well as his strengths. This form varies considerably among school systems, but there are some standard queries running through most of them. For example, there are almost always questions as to the moral character of the applicant, his ability to get along with his associates, his success in instruction, and the reasons why he is leaving (if he is not just out of college). Perhaps the most often used query of all is: Would you employ this candidate if you had a comparable vacancy open?

Most of the personnel data essential for efficient administration are gathered after candidates have been officially appointed to fill vacancies. It is important that these facts be in convenient form for use by administrators and supervisors. The Elshree-Davies Instructional Personnel Record Form, reproduced in the accompanying illustrations, is one type of folder used to record basic personnel data. It consists of a durable file folder and a supplementary sheet to ensure up-to-date information.

The advantages of a folder are many. In the first place, it provides a place to file pertinent information about the teacher, letters of commendation, anecdotal notes written by supervisors and principals, and the information used in selection. Second, it makes it possible to have all the basic data on each employee in one place, not scattered in many different cabinets, as is so frequently the case. This advantage will be appreciated by research directors and consultants, who frequently need to tabulate data on several different personnel items. The convenience of having all the data recorded on one form is at once apparent to anyone acquainted with research efforts.

Records are only worth while to the extent that they are con-



# EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE OUTSIDE OF LOCAL SCHOOLS

TOTAL No. YES

SCHOOL YEAR	KIND of SCHOOL	PLACE	GRADE or SUBJECTS TAUGHT	OTHER SCHOOL RESPONSIBILITIES	TEACH. No. MONTHS TAL. M.P.	ACTUAL REASON

## 12. WORK EXPERIENCE (as adult, other than teaching)

DATE	LOCATION	POSITION	YES	DATE	NO	LOCATION	POSITION	YES

## 13. PUBLICATIONS

## 14. OTHER EDUCATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS (including membership in professional organizations)

## 15. ACCOMPLISHMENTS, HOBBIES, INTERESTS

## 16. NOTES

DATE OF LEAVING

REASON FOR LEAVING

## EDUCATIONAL PREPARATION

	DATE ATTENDED	INSTITUTION (Name and Location)	Nature of Course Taken	MAJOR	MINOR	ACTIVITIES, HONORS, DISTINCTIONS Etc.	YEAR OF GRADUATION	CERTIFICATE or DIPLOMA
High School								
High School								
Teachers College (for the next 10 years)								
College and University								

## IN-SERVICE DEVELOPMENT

[illegible]



sulted and relevant data marshaled for administrative or supervisory use. Most administrators know that periodic reporting on the status of the teaching staff serves as a stimulus to professional growth and improvement. Some superintendents of schools tabulate in-service education data annually and report the findings to the board of education and to the teaching staff. Where progress is evidenced, this type of analysis creates good will, where little in-service education activity can be reported, this fact becomes a matter of concern to employees and the board of education.

Accurate and complete information, such as that called for in the personnel record form just illustrated, is also very useful when promotions are being considered. The presence of detailed data to support a recommendation of the superintendent of schools makes for confidence in his leadership, and, what is most important, it results in wiser promotions. Where a local school system wishes a tailor-made record system, the administration would be wise to appoint a joint committee of teachers and administrators to study the problem. A record system, if it is to function well, must seek and record all the essential personnel data that relate to personnel management. The data must fulfill certain legal requirements laid down by the state, and they should be recorded and filed in such a fashion that they can be efficiently consulted. Nothing should be included in an employee's file which, if read by supervisors and principals, would interfere with the employee's achievement. Confidential information should not be placed in a teacher's file that is open to more than the superintendent of schools and the board of education.

### RELATED READING

Metropolitan School Study Council, *Report on Teacher Selection*, Unmet Needs Group Studying the Problems of Emotional Stability. New York: Metropolitan School Study Council, 525 West 120th St., September, 1951, pp. 10-30.

## —11— MORALE

Staff morale is an important responsibility that rests largely in the hands of the board of education and the administration. Too often the morale problem is approached narrowly and solutions are sought almost exclusively in traditional employee welfare provisions, such as those relating to salaries, sick leave, pension, and retirement. Modern industry has broadened its conception of morale-building in light of the findings of recent research studies, and today management is beginning to evidence concern over nearly every facet of the worker's daily living.

One of the reasons why morale has received as little attention as it has in public school administration is that it is hard to define and difficult to measure. The quality of morale, like the efficiency of a teacher, is somewhat elusive; but students of the morale problem have now reached rather general agreement as to what morale is and have identified a number of common factors which seem to condition the attitude of workers in every sphere of life. Leighton has defined morale as "the capacity of a group of people to pull together persistently and consistently in pursuit of a common purpose."<sup>1</sup> There is the implication in this definition that employees and management are pursuing a common goal. Although workers usually know, in a general sort of way, what the enterprise in which they are engaged is designed to accomplish, they do not see their own roles clearly nor do they identify their roles with the major objectives of management.

Morale under such conditions is almost certain to be low. Business has become so large and so complicated that, unless pains are taken to clarify the value of the services of an enterprise to society, this value is likely to remain obscure in the minds of employees.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Leighton, "Applied Science of Human Relations," *Personnel Administration*, July, 1947, pp. 4-8.

Assuming a legitimate business which ministers to human wants and needs, there should be little difficulty in demonstrating the worth of the enterprise, and to show how, in that situation, labor and management are basically striving to achieve one common goal.

It is more difficult to get everybody in an organization to pull together than it is to agree on a common goal. The former problem is the one that personnel management spends most of its time and thought trying to solve. Studies have revealed a few significant leads for management to follow which can be applied to almost any enterprise or organization.<sup>2</sup> To ensure high morale on the part of employees certain basic conditions must be met. Individual employees must have:

1. Recognition as persons in their own right. They need to feel they have worth and something to say about their work and how it should be done.
2. Confidence in the integrity of their superior officers.
3. Respect for their fellow workers and faith in them.
4. Confidence that promotions from the ranks are made on the basis of merit and that there is little politics and favoritism in the organization.
5. Assurance that their grievances will be listened to attentively and will be given full consideration.
6. Belief that their wages are reasonably adequate and fairly administered.
7. Assurance that there is a future for them in the enterprise.
8. A liking for the community in which they live and work.

Undoubtedly there are other factors that belong in this list, but students of the problem consider the ones enumerated to be exceptionally important.<sup>3</sup>

### IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

In order to satisfy those wants which are essential for the high morale of employees, management must take the leadership, and

<sup>2</sup>W. E. Mosher, J. D. Kingsley, and O. G. Stahl, *Public Personnel Administration* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), pp. 287-288.

<sup>3</sup>See Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, "Some Recent Findings in Human-Relations Research in Industry," *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), pp. 650-665.

## NEED FOR A PHILOSOPHY

Many school administrators have professed a belief in a philosophy of human relations that fully measures up to the Christian Ethic, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you."

There has also been much talk about democracy in school administration and boards of education have commonly interpreted their own policies and behavior as fully conforming to democratic principles. But, however just these claims may be, there is an obvious need for clarification of principles and philosophy in the personnel field.

The first task of school administrators, therefore, is to convince themselves that high morale, on the part of the professional staff as well as the noncertificated employees, is directly related to certain well-defined personnel policies and procedures that have their roots in a philosophy of human relations. As implied earlier, the morale problem is frequently oversimplified. Superintendents and board members get the impression that salary, tenure, and sick leave are the only things employees are really concerned about. This is because teachers have been more vocal about their economic and security ills than they have about their other troubles. One of the lessons which modern industry has learned is that off-the-job satisfactions, such as wages, vacations, and pensions, are no substitutes for on-the-job considerations. Teachers, principals, supervisors, school secretaries, and custodians must find genuine pleasure in their everyday experiences at school as well as out of school or morale will be low despite generous economic rewards.

This suggests that the social and professional climate in the school system needs to be thoughtfully considered. Experience has shown that discontented employees spend as much effort fighting the administration as they devote to their daily assignments. If this energy could be redirected toward an attainment of common goals, the productive power of the school system would be lifted markedly.

hygiene, a real start will have been made toward the development of high employee morale.

#### COMMUNICATION—AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT

A democratic spirit is essential for high morale but the spirit alone is not enough. Lines of communication must be established between board of education and employees and between the superintendent of schools and employees. Good relationships are contingent upon understanding, and understanding depends upon ease of communication. Other things being equal, it is easier to maintain high morale in a small school, where the people know one another and where teachers can deal directly with the principal, than it is in a very large school, where the organization is fairly complex and face-to-face contacts are more restricted. It is possible to facilitate an exchange of views in large schools and in the school system as a whole through organization.

#### PARTICIPATION—THE BASIC FACTOR

One of the means by which on-the-job satisfactions can be achieved is through employee participation in policy formulation. The principle of participation, if adopted and consistently followed, will tend to develop a team spirit and in the long run will result in better policies and procedures. Under wise leadership the creative imagination and inventive ingenuity of the staff of teachers can be tapped through participation in policy formulation and, what is equally important, when this principle obtains, teachers will develop greater appreciation of the real problems confronting school administrators. The only fear administrators ever need have of involving teachers in a cooperative venture of the character just implied is when they are using the process to manipulate others and not as a means of serving the best interests of children. Any plan of employee participation will surely backfire if there are ulterior motives behind it, or if it is participatory in name only.

#### THE ALL-SCHOOL COUNCIL

In the discussion on "Improvement of Teachers in Service" it was pointed out that the all-school council had proved itself to be an

excellent medium for keeping in touch with teachers. The board of education should be kept advised by the superintendent of schools regarding the wishes and recommendations of this group. When a question of great interest to all the employees arises and when differences in viewpoint are marked, opportunity to discuss the issues directly with the board of education should be assured the council. This will in no way subtract from the prerogatives of the superintendent of schools. He will retain his right and his responsibility to make independent judgments and to recommend to the board of education what he deems to be best for the school system. People sometimes overlook the fact that an important element in a democracy is the privilege of having one's views presented, without fear of punishment, when matters directly relating to one's work and welfare are being considered.

The following statement on professional personnel policies from a brochure published by the Lakewood, Ohio, Public Schools is an excellent illustration of how some forward-looking school systems view the question and organization of the all-school advisory council:

The Advisory Council for the Superintendent was organized in the fall of 1948 on the premise that the multiple responsibilities of the superintendent and the best interests of the entire system could be served better by establishing a means which would permit the best thinking of all staff members to be brought to bear on school problems. Although the board and superintendent cannot absolve themselves from locally constituted responsibility for the establishment of policy and its administration, the Council does provide for a two-way flow of information and effective action resulting from group thinking.

The six members of the Council include a teacher representative from each of four levels of instruction—kindergarten through grade three, grades four through six, junior high, and senior high, a member of the administrative group, and the president of the Lakewood Teachers' Association. Classroom teacher representatives are elected by the association . . .

. . . Members of the Council act strictly in an advisory capacity. Their mission is to gather ideas, to present reactions of the personnel, to express opinions, and to interpret school policy to other staff members in the light of detailed information they receive through discussion in the monthly Council meetings. The Council provides for an honest exchange of fact and opinion between the Superintendent and staff representatives.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Professional Personnel Policies*, (Lakewood, Ohio, Public Schools, October 11, 1951), p. 15.

Unless the administration provides some substitute service and makes proper allowances in load assignment for teachers who are serving on major committees, there will be little enthusiasm for the set-up. This is not meant to imply that every teacher serving on a committee must have time off to fulfill his committee assignment. Most teachers expect to carry some responsibilities beyond their regular class duties, but if the responsibilities consume several hours per week of a teacher's time, his load will be unduly heavy and his efficiency will in all probability suffer. Official committees such as the all-school council and the individual building councils should meet on school time. Moreover, teachers serving on special committees where a major task is involved should be relieved of some of their regular teaching duties.

### THE BOARD'S RELATIONSHIP TO TEACHERS

School board members have to be extremely careful in their relationships with employees lest suspicion be created that they are playing favorites. Since confidence in the integrity and efficiency of board members is a contributing factor to morale, it is essential that board members guard against any appearance of favoritism. Whether at church, at the golf club, or at bridge parties, school board members should watch their statements about school matters carefully, since gossip travels fast and far. Where teachers especially are involved, great discretion has to be exercised by individual board members in discussing school affairs lest a wedge be driven between the superintendent of schools and the teaching corps. In some communities, individual teachers carry their school problems directly to their friends on the board of education and bypass the superintendent of schools. Sometimes the motive is perfectly innocent, but careless talk outside of school can seriously disturb morale. The superintendent would be wise to discuss the whole question of ethics and good taste with both the staff and the board of education in the hope that the discussion of school problems as the problems relate to individual teachers or administrators would be restricted to official meetings, so that no just charge of favoritism can be made.

The acceptance of this principle, however, need not keep members of the board as individuals from being friendly with, and

considerate of, employees. Where the size of the school system permits it, the school board as a group should initiate steps to get acquainted with staff members socially and professionally. Teachers and other employees appreciate the opportunity of meeting and knowing the members of the school board. Dinners and parties offer one avenue for establishing friendly relations and for developing good will. Whenever possible, board members should be encouraged to attend Christmas parties and other special events in the schools. Similarly, the teachers' association should be urged to include school board members in some of their social and professional activities. In this way the morale of board members as well as teachers will be heightened.

On the professional side, individual staff members should be invited to appear at board meetings and present reports of their activities and studies. Since it isn't usually feasible to have every teacher or principal appear before the board, an effort should be made to recognize those whose work is most outstanding, and to invite employee committees that have engaged in some important research or study to bring their findings and conclusions to the board directly. If wisely administered, this will add to morale and give the board of education a sense of pride in the work of the staff. Teachers perform their work almost exclusively before immature audiences, and, therefore, they get relatively little recognition from adults. This isn't the case with most other professions. A lawyer pleads his case before an adult jury and judge; a minister preaches to an audience that is largely composed of mature minds; a physician, even when ministering to the ills of children, demonstrates his skill to adult parents and relatives. Although pupils often recognize and appreciate the specific contributions of teachers, they are less vocal in their expression of praise than adults. Therefore, any sincere effort on the part of the board of education or parent groups to put the spotlight on individual teachers will pay big dividends. Among the basic conditions essential for high morale is the recognition of the individual employee as a person in his own right. Such efforts as those just discussed will contribute to this end.

There is also inherent in the relationships just suggested the opportunity for teachers to gain confidence in and respect for the members of the board of education, both individually and collec-

tively. To the degree that the board members give evidence of trying to serve the interests of the school system and display such qualities as fairness and integrity, the staff will develop a wholesome respect for them and their decisions.

### SCHOOL BOARD POLICIES

Several of the factors which experience has revealed to be closely related to high morale have implications for school board policy. Teachers, as well as other workers, exhibit high *esprit de corps* when they have confidence that salaries are reasonably adequate and are administered fairly. Moreover, morale is more likely to be high when teachers believe that promotions to supervisory and administrative positions are made on the basis of merit and not because of political favoritism. In addition, their enthusiasm is also affected by the degree in which they feel that there is a good future for them in the enterprise and some hope of realizing their ambitions and achieving their own goals. To the degree that the administration can satisfy teachers' concerns in these areas, it will have contributed significantly to the building of morale. Few, if any, employers ever fully satisfy the wants of all employees with respect to wages, hours, tenure, vacations, and retirement. Nor is it anticipated that boards of education, short of the millennium, can hope to make all the employees happy. If school boards demonstrate their interest in trying to do the right thing and show their fairness in assessing the problems of teachers, this is what counts most. In modern school systems, where employees share in policy formulation, the board's point of view on teacher welfare policies is no secret to teachers throughout the school system. It is important that teachers respect and have confidence in the decisions of the board.

### TROUBLE SHOOTING

In some communities in the United States the morale of public school teachers occasionally sinks so low that ordinary measures are not sufficient to restore it to a level where an efficient school program can be assured. Although usually some specific dispute over salaries or working conditions precipitates an open break be-

recourse in case a board of education fails to live up to its responsibilities according to the terms of a collective bargaining agreement. Teachers cannot walk out—nor can they insist that the issue be submitted to a board of arbitration for settlement. As distasteful as the thought of collective bargaining is to most superintendents of schools and boards of education, there is a growing tendency toward the settlement of salary problems and matters relating to working conditions generally through a process that resembles collective bargaining. The procedure is probably better defined as negotiation, but it is a far cry from the old individual bargaining days when everyone shifted for himself. The agreements, to be sure, are not written out and signed, but they are nonetheless genuine and the result of negotiation. Moreover, there is a disposition in many quarters to establish machinery which, in several respects, resembles that used in the industrial field. This is illustrated by the organization recently created in the New York City Public Schools for promoting staff participation in pedagogic and administrative policy matters and for dealing with the complaints of individual teachers.<sup>4</sup> The new machinery was established "to insure a satisfactory channel of communication" between the teaching and supervisory staff and the board of education. Although arbitration in the New York City plan is limited to complaints that cannot be settled satisfactorily through regular administrative channels, it establishes a procedure which involves negotiation with individuals and committees and is a step in the right direction.

A further indication of the movement toward collective action is to be found in the preliminary report of a committee appointed by the Connecticut Commissioner of Education to study the working relations of boards of education and teacher organizations. A few excerpts from this report will serve to show the trend of thinking of the committee:

The recent decision of the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors in the Case of Norwalk Teachers' Association v. Board of Education of the City of Norwalk, prohibits the use of the strike by teachers as well as by all other public employees. Recognizing that this might have a far-reaching effect on the working relations of boards of education and teachers' organizations, the Executive Committee of the Connecticut Association of

<sup>4</sup> *Report of Committee to Study Staff Relations in the New York City Schools*, Feb. 21, 1952.

Boards of Education suggested that Dr. F. E. Engleman, Commissioner of Education, appoint a committee to consider this problem.

The purpose of the report which the committee drafted was "to recommend a general plan by which boards of education, superintendents of schools, and teachers can establish jointly a procedure for the consideration of problems of mutual concern."<sup>7</sup>

The proposals made by the Connecticut committee for resolving local problems that threaten to destroy teacher morale and endanger the educational interests of children are worthy of close study, since some of them have equal application for school systems outside the state of Connecticut. The recommended procedure is as follows:

- I. Each group should re-examine its position to determine whether the position taken is well founded in all respects and whether by compromise, a meeting of minds can be achieved.
- II. If the impasse continues, the board of education and the local teacher group should call in competent, professional representatives to consider the problem and to recommend a solution which might be mutually acceptable. Each group should select one representative and the two selected should choose a third.
- III. If this procedure fails, either the local teacher group, preferably through its state professional organization, or the board of education should inform the *State Board of Education*, through the Commissioner of Education, as Secretary, that in its judgment the educational interests of the state are in jeopardy because of the situation in the particular community and should request an immediate investigation or other necessary intervention.
- IV. Whenever the Commissioner, as Secretary of the State Board of Education, is officially informed of the situation in a particular community, in accordance with Item III, the following action will be taken:
  - A. He will appoint a committee from the State Department of Education, which committee shall:
    1. Establish the facts in the situation
    2. Attempt to mediate the disagreement
    3. In carrying out its assignment confer separately or jointly with:
      - a. The superintendent of schools
      - b. Official representatives of the teachers
      - c. The Board of Education or its chairman and secretary
      - d. Other town officials if the situation warrants.

<sup>7</sup> *Preliminary Report of Committee on Working Relations of Boards of Education and Teacher Organizations* (Hartford, Conn.: September 12, 1952) (mimeo.).

- B. Upon the completion of its investigation the committee will report to the Commissioner its summary of the facts and recommendations for necessary steps to secure a settlement.
- C. If an agreement at an early date seems possible, the Commissioner will request the department committee to continue its efforts toward a settlement, in which case the representatives will continue to confer with the differing groups until grounds for agreement are reached if possible.
- D. If no agreement is reached within a reasonable time the department committees will so notify the Commissioner, who will request the board of education, the superintendent, teacher representatives, other town officials, if necessary, and the department committee to meet with him in a final attempt to reach an agreement.
- E. If the joint meeting fails to produce an agreement, the Commissioner will report the facts to the State Board of Education together with recommendations for a settlement. The State Board of Education will consider the recommendations and propose a basis of settlement.
- F. If the parties concerned refuse to accept the proposed settlement, the State Board of Education will seek and follow the legal advice given by the Attorney General's Office relative to the steps necessary for keeping the schools in said town in operation.

A superintendent of schools who finds himself confronted with a morale situation that threatens the best interests of children would be wise to encourage both the board of education and the employees to pursue some such procedure as that proposed by the Connecticut Committee. Moreover, the establishment of permanent machinery, such as a joint advisory committee to thresh over problems and propose policies, should be urged as a means of preventing future trouble.

School boards are sometimes quite impatient with teachers because they ask for salary increases or make requests that appear to board members to be unreasonable in light of existing budgetary troubles. But it should be pointed out that teacher attitudes are conditioned by administrative policies and procedures. Seldom will a well-informed staff of teachers in a democratically administered school system make unreasonable demands. In short, management inevitably reaps the harvest that it has sown. It should, of course, be noted that fiscally dependent school systems sometimes make it impossible for school boards to do the fair thing by their employees. But except where this condition exists, there is little likelihood

that satisfactory policies relating to teacher welfare cannot be arrived at through discussion and conference.

#### GRIEVANCE PROCEDURES

In any large organization there are bound to be grievances. Individual teachers feel aggrieved for many reasons; sometimes the fault lies with the teacher himself; sometimes with his immediate supervisor; often both of them share the blame. If provision is made for quick and just redress of grievances, the effect on morale will be efficacious; if they are suppressed or ignored, they can lead to widespread dissatisfaction. Spalding lists some typical examples of the grievances of school employees.\* They include objections to a particular principal or supervisor, objections to methods of rating employees, complaints about the salary schedule, duties outside of the classroom, and faculty meetings. He also stresses the point that the administrative staff, as well as teachers, have grievances which deserve attention. If by chance a collective bargaining agreement has been signed, then there should be no need for a separate arrangement to care for grievances. But, in most city school systems, some plan of organization needs to be set up to deal with employee complaints.

There are several advantages inherent in a well-conceived grievance procedure. The fact that established precedents can be used in the settlement of disputes tends to reduce the number of conflicting opinions; it makes for impartiality; it ensures the consideration of pertinent facts; and, in the long run, it tends to eliminate most of the petty complaints.

The first principle in any well-conceived plan of caring for grievances is to encourage the complainant to negotiate directly with the principal of the school or his immediate superior officer on a face-to-face basis. Where the employee feels that he will be at a disadvantage in such a conference, he should be privileged to have someone of his choice accompany him. This direct approach to the settlement of a misunderstanding should always be taken. Moreover, principals and directors should be given the necessary author-

\* Willard Spalding, *Organizing the Personnel of a Democratic School System*, National Society for the Study of Education, 45th Yearbook (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), Chapter IV, Part II, p. 72.

ity to settle grievances and make redresses when indicated. Appeal, of course, from the decisions of immediate superiors must always be open. In case the complainant is not satisfied with the decision of his superior, the grievance should be reduced to writing and made available to the interested parties, and one copy should be placed in the hands of the staff relations or employee grievance committee. This committee should be elected by secret ballot from among the teaching staff.

Within a specified period of time, not to exceed fifteen or twenty days after the principal or director has made his decision, the appeal should go to an assistant superintendent of schools or the officer next in line above the principal. Again the complainant, if not satisfied, should have the right to appeal to the superintendent of schools, and a written record of the previous appeal and the comments of the first officer to whom the complaint was made should be available for the participants in the conference. Should a mutually satisfactory solution not be found, the matter should be submitted to the board of education by the superintendent, with a request that the grievance be placed before a board of arbitration. If the board of education agrees, a committee of three arbitrators is appointed, consisting of one official designated by the board of education, one staff member chosen by the complainant, and a third member designated by the other two members. In case of failure to agree on the third member, the chairman of the State Mediation Board or the State Commissioner of Education might well be asked to name the third. The decision of this group should be final.

Appropriate matters for arbitration should include misinterpretation of existing policy, rules, and by-laws, and claims of unjust and inequitable treatment. In most school systems the number of cases that will reach the board of arbitration would be extremely small. But the knowledge that an appeal is open to every employee who has a grievance will contribute decidedly to morale.

### ATTITUDE SURVEYS

A grievance procedure that is thoroughly democratic in character will uncover many of the sources of irritation to the employees of a school system. If speedy and intelligent action is taken to make amends where injustices have been wrought, and to clarify

policies where misunderstandings exist, a healthy atmosphere should result. But an organization designed to care for complaints will not necessarily reveal to the administration and the board of education a number of sore spots, which, if allowed to persist, will interfere with the smooth and efficient operation of the schools. Teachers in some schools may be unhappy because they don't have faith in the leadership of their principal, yet they make no complaint to the central administration; or they may feel that their supplies and equipment are very unsatisfactory and do not communicate this fact to the superintendent of schools. Whether or not the facts are real or imaginary, these attitudes are not conducive to high morale and should not be ignored.

Business and industry have given considerable thought and study to employee attitudes in recent years, and such companies as General Motors, Du Pont, and Standard Oil, to name only a few, have made extensive surveys to discover how employees react to a whole variety of practices and policies. Although the survey technique is not one that can be employed profitably by amateurs, personnel and research directors are well acquainted with the type of instrument used and understand the process involved. Where the research resources of a corporation or business concern are limited, industrial management consultants are frequently called in to direct attitude surveys.

The best illustration of an employee attitude survey is a public school system is one made in Grosse Pointe, Michigan, in 1947. This appraisal was designed along lines of attitude surveys in industry and the opinions of teachers were sought in the following five major areas:

1. My Job—matters relating to working conditions, such as light, sanitation, safety, hours of work, and so on.
2. My Supervision—reaction to competence and performance of supervisors and administrators.
3. The Public—attitude toward restrictions, living standards, parents, etc.
4. My Opportunity—chances to advance, absence or presence of favoritism.
5. My Compensation—fairness and adequacy.

The opinionnaire consisted of multiple choice statements and was so designed that each employee could register his confidential

reactions to a large number of environmental factors that condition morale. It is hard to imagine how administrators could fail to discover from the detailed analysis made of employee replies where the troublesome spots were in the school system.<sup>9</sup> Once the problem areas are located, steps can be taken to eliminate them.

#### TIME TO SURVEY

There is probably no ready-made answer to the question: When should an employee attitude survey be made? Should it be made when there are clear evidences of dissatisfaction on the part of employees, or should surveys be made periodically as a matter of course? Both questions should probably be answered in the affirmative. Certainly, when morale is low and the administration is uncertain regarding the reasons for employee dissatisfaction, a thorough survey would provide the information needed to initiate reforms. There are several preliminary steps, however, which should be taken if the survey is to accomplish the greatest good. First of all, principals and supervisors should be assured that the findings will be used solely as a means of improving personnel relationships and that no individual will be "put on the spot." Otherwise the morale of some members of the supervisory and administrative staff will be adversely affected, and they will not be enthusiastic about the project. Secondly, administrators and supervisors should be advised as to the scope and nature of the opinionnaire so that the items reported on will not come as a complete surprise. In fact, they should be consulted as to the morale areas that most need exploration. Since the actual construction of the opinionnaire is a technical job that requires professional assistance, the participation of local administrators and supervisors should be limited to matters relating to general policy. Thirdly, the employees should be advised by the superintendent of schools through a face-to-face contact that a survey is contemplated; he should explain the purpose of it and ask for the cooperation of every employee. Opportunity should be given those present to ask questions from the floor. The latter feature is very important, for it will enable the superintendent to sense the reaction of employees to the survey and ena-

<sup>9</sup> *Employee Opinion Poll, Grasse Pointe, Michigan* (Chicago: Robert N. McMurray & Co., Consultants, 1947).

ble him to make such adjustments in procedure as the situation requires. It is important that fear and apprehension be completely removed. Teachers and other employees are likely to express honest opinions when they are assured anonymity. In an attitude survey, it is not essential that opinionnaires be signed. It is important in most attitude appraisals, however, that the building unit be stated so that the problems can be located as to source. This fact, however, need not disturb individual teachers.

If these preparatory steps are taken well in advance of the paper and pencil part of the project, there should be no serious negative reactions to the survey.

Whoever has the responsibility for preparing the opinionnaire will need to spend considerable time interviewing the administrative and supervisory personnel, representative classroom teachers, and other employees in order to discover the major sources of concern. The content of the opinionnaire instrument, if it is to measure the important concerns of employees, must be thoroughly considered. The opinionnaire should be tailor-made to fit the situation—a standardized form may be quite unsuited for use in a particular school system.

superintendent authorized to take necessary administrative action.

The possibilities for morale building through a well-conducted attitude survey are almost unlimited. School administrators should become familiar with this device for discovering employee reactions to current policies and procedures.

## COUNSELING AND GROUP THERAPY

Public school systems have been rather hesitant to venture off the beaten path in their efforts to improve employee morale. Although business enterprises and the federal government generally have done little of an experimental nature to develop *esprit de corps*, a few of the larger establishments and branches have been alert to such recent innovations as employee counseling. Employee efficiency is related to peace of mind, and when personal problems arise that have their roots in influences wholly outside the office or factory, they almost always result in lowered efficiency. This is the place where counseling can be employed to good advantage. The primary role of the counselor is to listen sympathetically and, through a process somewhat resembling psychoanalysis, to draw out the resentments and feelings of the troubled worker, and, with his cooperation, to seek out a solution. The problem may be a marital problem, a health problem, a budget problem, or a problem of getting on with other workers; whatever the problem, the counselor lends a sympathetic ear. To make this service attractive to employees, counselors are not given administrative or supervisory powers or responsibilities; hence they cannot use the information they gather to lower the employee's status, however serious the problem under consideration may be. The relationship between counselor and employee is a confidential one, similar to that of a physician to his patient. This type of counseling, when provided by a competent specialist, is invaluable as a means of strengthening employee morale and thereby keeping efficiency at a higher level than would otherwise be maintained. More recently, the counseling job in industry has been expanded to include advisory services in addition to the above-mentioned psychotherapeutic aspects of the work. Moreover, counselors today work with the supervisory personnel as well as with employees, thereby extending their influence considerably.

*Counseling of the character just described has not been used in public school systems. Undoubtedly it would not be feasible at the present time to introduce it on an extensive scale in city school systems, because the public would not give its enthusiastic support. On the other hand, counseling services are badly needed. Although the proportion of classroom teachers who are seriously disturbed emotionally is probably relatively small, the number who are confronted with personal problems that could be helped by counseling is fairly large. Moreover, the effectiveness of most supervisors and principals would be greatly enhanced by close association with counselors. Unless one has an excellent background in the field of psychology and mental hygiene, he is likely to be "working in the dark" a good deal of the time in his efforts to help teachers with their personal problems. Unfortunately, many principals and supervisors have only a minimum background in this field.*

A first step in counseling public school employees might be to make available the services of the school psychiatrist, when he can spare time from his other duties. This would meet the most extreme problem cases among the staff. Then if a counselor, blessed with keen insight, sympathetic understanding, and more than the ordinary amount of common sense, could be employed to give his full time to the problems of teachers, it would pay big dividends in terms of efficiency. It should be pointed out, however, that the success of counseling will depend upon the personality and wisdom of the counselor. Training alone is a poor criterion of qualification wherever guidance responsibilities are involved. Unless the counselor is the type of individual that teachers turn to spontaneously, his services will be largely wasted.

#### GROUP THERAPY

Students of the morale problem are looking with considerable interest to group therapy as a means of dealing with certain personnel problems. This means is much more economical in time and money than individual counseling, and, in some ways, appeals more to employees. A timid teacher, who might hesitate to take his own problem to the counselor, is less afraid to join others in a group discussion. His courage is bolstered by the realization that other teachers also have personal problems that are troubling them. Usu-

ally the discussion begins with some common problem that confronts everyone, such as feelings of embarrassment when visiting the home of a parent, sensitivity to matters of dress or to one's figure, or to a dozen other situations where feelings of inadequacy are often encountered. As the group gets acquainted, individuals begin to bare their innermost thoughts and feelings, and this process has great therapeutic value. The self-confidence of teachers can be strengthened considerably, and they can look at themselves and their problems more objectively as a result of the group therapy. Moreover, this association with the counselor will establish a relationship that will encourage teachers to seek out the help of the counselor on many individual problems that are not dealt with in the group experience.

#### ROLE PLAYING

Role playing is a rather recent innovation that is being used in some school systems to modify teacher behavior and improve morale. Students are not fully agreed as to how effective playing a role is for the individual participant in bringing about a genuine change of heart or understanding, but they are agreed that it has value in dramatizing the problem so that it can be analyzed and the basic problems of relationships enlightened. This medium is especially helpful in getting across to supervisors certain fundamental principles of human relationships. Not only can various types of supervisors be portrayed through role playing, but also a wide variety of problem situations can be acted out and used as the basis for a profitable discussion. The great advantage of role playing over ordinary staff meetings is that everyone present sees and hears the same dramatization of a specific problem. This not only lends interest to the discussion, but it brings out in bold relief the detailed features of the scene presented and provides a wonderful opportunity for experience in problem solving.

As the media just discussed are better understood and their usefulness demonstrated, school administrators will undoubtedly make them a regular part of the supervisory machinery. Nearly everything that has been suggested so far on morale building pertains to policies and procedures, and in general, where wise policies and practices prevail one will find high employee morale. But there is a human element running through relationships which transcends

machinery, rules and regulations, welfare provisions, and all other paraphernalia considered essential to a good school system. This factor is hard to define but its presence or absence is easily detected. The superintendent of schools, in his relationships with principals, supervisors, teachers, and other employees, sets a tone which permeates the whole school system. If he is sympathetic and understanding, if he radiates confidence and enthusiasm, if he has integrity of a high order, if he gives evidence of steadfastness and courage, and if he has a genuine sense of mission and in addition has real vision, there is far greater likelihood that those in less responsible positions will function at their highest level.

### SUMMARY

The relationship of employee morale to efficiency is so generally acknowledged today that management is spending millions of dollars studying how to develop and improve the *esprit de corps* of workers. Although no formula has yet been devised, students of the problem have discovered that certain conditions are closely related to high morale among employees. High in the list of items are: recognition of the employee as an individual in his own right, employee confidence in the integrity of his superior officers, respect for his fellow workers, confidence that promotions are being made on the basis of merit, feeling that grievances will be dealt with fairly, assurance that there is a future in the enterprise, and a liking for the community in which he lives and works. The implications for public school administration are many. First of all, there is need for developing a clear philosophy of human relations and for convincing the board of education that personnel policies and procedures should be consistent with this philosophy. Typical incentive arrangements should be broadened to appeal to employees during their work hours. This implies wider participation in policy formulation, attention to the social climate, and greater consideration for the individual employee as a person.

School systems should also give thought to improving lines of communication between school board and employees and between administrators and employees. The all-school council type of organization is one way of ensuring a regular flow of information from teachers to administrators, and vice versa. School boards should be encouraged to get better acquainted with staff members

and their accomplishments. This can be done by allowing a place on the agenda of school board meetings for reports by teachers, by planning a few social events to which both teachers and board members are invited; by having important teacher committees report on their findings and recommendations to the board of education, and by a conscious effort on the part of individual board members to get acquainted with as many staff members as possible. In large cities the latter means will probably not be very feasible; but in most American communities it is possible for the board of education to have at least a speaking acquaintance with most of the teachers.

The participation of employees in the determination of policies and in solving school problems is the best single medium for developing high morale. To facilitate this, the board should officially recognize the all-school council or some other representative committee of employees as an integral part of the machinery to be used in determining policies and procedures. Moreover, the council should be encouraged to initiate policies as well as pass on proposals of administrators; the scope of the advisory committee or council activities should be clearly defined and limited to those matters that are the major concerns of teachers, and lines of communication with the rank and file should be established through some local council organization to tap the best thinking of teachers on questions being considered. In order that teachers serving on the council or on major committees may give proper study and thought to the development of sound policies, provision should be made for relieving them of some of their teaching duties. The business of some of these committees is important enough to warrant holding meetings on school time.

Those factors relating to high employee morale which have definite implications for school board policy—such as belief that salary levels are reasonable and fair and confidence that promotions are made on the basis of merit and that there is a future for individual teachers in the school system—should all be given study, and a sincere effort should be made to satisfy the hopes of the majority of teachers.

When employee morale has sunk to a low level, it will probably be necessary to consider more immediate means of restoring the confidence and good will of employees. Among the techniques

for doing this is the provision of a special grievance procedure in which employees are guaranteed the right of a thorough consideration of their complaints.

When the relations between board and teachers are so bad that an impasse seems to have been reached, the procedure proposed by a Connecticut Committee is worthy of study. It calls for bringing in outside representatives to appraise the situation and to suggest solutions. In case this procedure fails to bring about a settlement, the matter would be referred to the State Commissioner of Education for further study. If the impasse still remains, then the State Board of Education would take over.

School administrators are encouraged to give thoughtful consideration to the employee attitude survey as a means of attacking the morale problem in a fundamental way. The survey, if it is to produce favorable results, will necessitate the employment of a consultant skilled in personnel management techniques. Although still in its infancy, the attitude survey holds great promise for improving the efficiency of teachers.

Industry and the federal government are experimenting with counseling and group therapy as techniques for improving employee morale and efficiency. Public school administrators should explore the possibilities of using these media in their programs of in-service education. In the past, the personal problems of teachers, despite the valiant efforts of supervisors and principals to cope with them, have received far too little consideration in attacking the problem of teacher morale.

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## —12— ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Teachers probably have to operate under more restrictions than do members of any other occupational calling. These restraints pertain not only to what may be done as part of the school program or regular work of teachers, but also often to what may be done outside of the framework of the school. The restrictions come in many forms. Some are provided for in state constitutions. Others are prescribed by statutes of statewide application. Still others are to be found in regulations of local boards of education and in local contract provisions. These types, being in written form, can be analyzed and evaluated. In many instances, however, the wording is subject to varying interpretations. In practice, then, the administrative interpretation given to the regulations is to a large extent the key to the degree of restraint actually imposed. The courts, of course, stand as a bulwark against both unconstitutional laws and arbitrary administrative rulings.

Written restrictions, however, comprise only a portion of the limitations under which teachers function. Community mores make impositions which, while they often are hard to pinpoint, frequently restrict teachers. In addition there are the urgings of special groups regarding activities of teachers both inside and outside of the classroom. Although these groups vary in size, purpose, methods of operation, and degree of conformity with the "will of the community," in many cases they exercise strong influences on teachers.

A separate category, but perhaps the most difficult to deal with, consists of those restrictions voluntarily assumed by some teachers desirous of avoiding what they consider to be unnecessary difficulties. Such self-imposed restraints are no less detrimental to a good educational program than are the more tangible ones. In fact,

in many respects, they are more insidious because they cannot be combatted as effectively. Often a teacher does not realize that he is weakening his teaching by avoiding controversial matters, or that he is undermining his profession by meekly submitting to all sorts of pressures. Not infrequently, moreover, a teacher may be unaware of the restrictions he actually is placing on himself and his teaching.

Public school teachers in a democratic society should be subject to some restrictions, of course. The problems in this area involve what the restrictions should be and how and by whom they should be formulated and interpreted. It is here that the doctrine of academic freedom must be considered.

Academic freedom is neither defined nor guaranteed by law. Hence, in the legal sense, academic freedom is not a right, such as freedom of religion or of speech. The courts furnish little help in interpreting its bounds, although the term has been mentioned in court opinions. So academic freedom must be regarded as a tradition—a cherished one to most educators and many laymen, but also, unfortunately, a nebulous one when specifics are involved.

Only relatively recently has the term academic freedom been applied below the university level of education. The historical background of the doctrine is to be found in the colleges. It is pertinent, therefore, to indicate some of the conditions on that educational plane that pertain to a far lesser degree on the public school level and that must be considered when adapting academic freedom to the public schools. One of the main functions of a university is to extend the bounds of knowledge by engaging in research and deriving and testing new ideas and theories. The typical university professor is an authority in his academic field and is a scholar more than he is a teacher. Conversely, in schools below the college level instructors are primarily disseminators rather than producers of knowledge. A second factor relates to the maturity of students on the college level. Presumably chronological age and prior training make the typical college student better able to weigh evidence and to reach independent conclusions than his brothers and sisters in elementary and secondary schools. Furthermore, the university student has a considerable degree of freedom of choice in selecting a college, in determining courses, and in choosing instructors.

MEANING OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM<sup>1</sup>

Several factors must be considered if a clear picture of academic freedom is to be obtained. First, academic freedom should be considered as freedom in academic matters. It should be recognized that through years of training and experience teachers have certain knowledges that the average citizen lacks about educating children. Research in various aspects of education continuously is revealing new information and insights regarding the learning process and the mental, physical, emotional, and social development of individuals. Just as engineering and medicine are changing because of new discoveries, so is education advancing. Few would insist that engineers and physicians function in the same manner that they did in "the good old days." Yet some resist any changes in the schools and go to great lengths to circumscribe what may be done there. The situation persists despite the fact that most classrooms in the country are occupied by much better-qualified

\*Leading professional organizations emphasize different points in their formal definitions of academic freedom, but they show relatively little disagreement on principles. The views of the National Education Association are presented in the form of two requisites for the achievement of academic freedom: "(1) Conditions which allow teachers to present, within the limits of good taste and sound scholarship, facts available on any subject and to express their personal opinions, so long as the instruction encourages students to reach their own decisions. (2) Conditions which allow teachers to discuss all problems freely in the classroom so long as they stress the soundness of the principles on which our nation was founded and avoid mere destructive criticism of American political, social and economic institutions."—*Report of the Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom, 1950* (Washington: National Education Association, 1950).

The American Federation of Teachers has adopted the following resolution: "The American Federation of Teachers reaffirms its support of principles of academic freedom. It believes that democracy requires an informal, courageous teaching profession, dedicated to the disinterested search for truth and free to explore all avenues of thought and experiment which may advance the welfare of its citizens and add to the body of its knowledge. Only in an environment where the pursuit of truth can be carried on without the restrictions of pressures or prejudices can the American conceptions of independent thought and the dignity and worth of the individual be advanced. We believe also that academic freedom imposes special obligations on the teacher. He must create for the student the same environment for free inquiry."—From the statement of policy, *Academic Freedom and the Civil and Professional Rights of Teachers*, adopted at the 1919 Convention of the American Federation of Teachers. Quoted from *The American Teacher*, 31 (no. 1):5, October, 1949.

Even though the American Association of University Professors treats problems as they apply to institutions of higher education, no discussion of academic freedom would be complete without reference to the "1940 Statement of Prin-

teachers than could be found a few decades ago. The above discussion should not be misconstrued to indicate that public participation in school affairs is bad. To the contrary, increased involvement of the public with the schools is definitely desirable. What is condemned is the setting up of all types of pressures and barriers to prevent teachers from proceeding as best they know how in pedagogical matters.

Another facet of the meaning of academic freedom is freedom of persons in the academic world in matters of everyday life. Teachers are citizens and should be entitled outside of the classroom to free exercise of the rights of citizenship. It must be pointed out, however, that by nature of their calling teachers have to forgo some activities which are not barred by law to all citizens. If teaching is a profession which demands exemplary character as well as knowledge of subject matter and teaching methods, certain actions would disqualify a teacher by so undermining respect for him that his effectiveness would be reduced. Yet, if teachers are not to be automatons, they must be given outside of the classroom the freedoms which they teach inside.

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ciples of Academic Freedom and Tenure" of this organization, which pioneered the cause of academic freedom in the United States. Pertinent excerpts are: "Academic freedom is essential to these purposes [of institutions of higher education] and applies to both teaching and research. Freedom in research is fundamental to the advancement of truth. Academic freedom in its teaching aspect is fundamental for the protection of the rights of the teacher in teaching and of the student to freedom in learning. It carries with it duties correlative with rights.

"The teacher is entitled to freedom in the classroom in discussing his subject, but he should be careful not to introduce into his teaching controversial matter which has no relation to his subject. Limitations of academic freedom because of religious or other aims of the institution should be clearly stated in writing at the time of the appointment.

"The college or university teacher is a citizen, a member of a learned profession, and an officer of an educational institution. When he speaks or writes as a citizen, he should be free from institutional censorship or discipline, but his special position in the community imposes special obligations. As a man of learning and an educational officer, he should remember that the public may judge his profession and his institution by his utterances. Hence he should at all times be accurate, should exercise appropriate restraint, should show respect for the opinions of others and should make every effort to indicate that he is not an institutional spokesman."—*American Association of University Professors*, "1940 Statement of Principles of Academic Freedom and Tenure." Quoted from *American Association of University Professors Bulletin*, 39:122-23, Spring, 1953.

Many state and local associations of educators have also put into writing their conceptions of academic freedom. Some have adopted those expressed by their national associations and others have composed their own.

A third basic interpretation of academic freedom concerns freedom of the student to learn. When teachers are restricted unduly, youth are deprived of the opportunity to develop fully their potentialities. Often, areas of instruction that are barred are the very areas on which more, and not less, attention should be focused. In most instances, experiences that qualified teachers want children to have are those that will help the students become better adult citizens, capable not only of appreciating our way of life but also of constantly improving it. To keep the consideration of vital and controversial topics out of the schools is to handicap children in getting facts, discussing problems, and reaching conclusions in later life. Freedom to learn is an implied right in a democracy. The tradition of academic freedom seeks to protect it.

The fourth point in regard to academic freedom is that this concept is not designed to protect individuals as such, but rather to protect a process—the process of seeking and revealing truth. When a citizen enters the teaching profession, he does not become endowed suddenly with rights and privileges denied him theretofore. The principles of academic freedom do not so hold. What they do maintain, however, is that no partisan restrictions be placed on the qualified teacher's activity in seeking the truth by experiment, by logical reasoning or by other means. Furthermore, he should be free to reveal what has been determined through competent investigation by himself or by others.

Another consideration immediately flows from the preceding. Like any other freedom, academic freedom carries responsibilities. Abuses of academic freedom are possible. Individuals who do not live up to the obligations of this freedom should not be allowed to enjoy its privileges. It must be exercised in good faith, and should not serve as a cloak for indoctrination. An instructor who teaches his own convictions to the exclusion of other ideas cannot legitimately claim the protection of academic freedom. Neither should this doctrine be used as a shield for incompetence. A teacher before a class is not privileged to make critical remarks pertaining to matters beyond his realm of recognized competence. Academic license is not to be tolerated in the guise of academic freedom.

The sixth aspect of academic freedom is its implied dynamism. The concept is not a static one; it must ever be expanding to encompass new situations. As time passes new scientific and social

facts and theories evolve. These must be analyzed and placed in the curriculum in proper perspective. Changing situations and circumstances demand reappraisals of the limits of academic freedom. Just as the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment have many manifestations requiring continuous interpretation, so does academic freedom need constant reassessment.

A seventh point is that the degree of academic freedom in public schools depends ultimately on the interpretation given this concept by the public at large. The profession has a definite responsibility for increasing public understanding in this regard. The public has a large stake in academic freedom; for barriers against intellectual freedom typify totalitarian regimes, and abrogation of freedom of the mind is a precursor of the downfall of other freedoms. Lay citizens must be helped to realize the practical aspects of the theory of academic freedom and its intimate connection with the general well-being of society.

### THREATS AND VIOLATIONS

Threats to freedom of teaching come from varied sources and are directed at many facets of the education enterprise. Alleged violations of academic freedom are to be found in almost every state. Although situations differ, certain patterns are discernible and will be treated later. First, however, it is pertinent to emphasize the distinction between a violation of academic freedom and a threat to academic freedom. During tense and emotional times these two terms often are confused, not always unintentionally. A *violation* is an *action* performed without regard to the principles of academic freedom, such as the dismissal of a teacher because she refused to support a specific candidate for school board membership, or a school board's forbidding teaching about the theory of evolution because some groups repudiate this theory. A *threat* constitutes a *situation* which could rather easily lead to a violation, such as a proposed investigation of "subversive" influences in the schools, or a demand by some citizens that schools not deal with a specific subject.

The profession should not treat threats and violations in the same manner. There is grave danger in "crying wolf" at every threat, for then violations will not be highlighted as they must be if academic

freedom is to thrive. The profession should be alert to threats and ready to recognize them as soon as they appear. Attempts should be made to remove threats, but whether the removal seems possible and feasible at a given time must be considered. In most cases a threat should be analyzed publicly in an objective fashion, so that all may be made aware of the situation. When a violation of academic freedom is imminent or actually occurs, it is the duty of educators as a whole actively and forcefully to expose and to oppose the action.

In the final analysis questions of focus and timing are involved. The following example is illustrative. A bill is introduced in the state legislature prohibiting teachers from advocating "subversive" doctrines. The passage of such a law surely would be a threat to freedom of teaching, but intrinsically it would not be a violation. The teaching profession should point out to the public and the legislators the bad features of such a law, which would differ both in degree and in substance depending on the wording. If the bill fails to pass, the threat tends to dissolve. If, however, it becomes law, academic freedom has not been violated although the threat becomes more acute.

Despite tenure or other protective provisions, the very fact that such a bill was proposed would frighten some teachers, and the passage of the bill would cause some others to be ultra-careful in their teaching and to avoid controversial issues. Such circumstances, so far as the theoretical concept of academic freedom is concerned, indicate merely that certain teachers do not possess the necessary degree of courage to accept the responsibilities of a good teacher which are prerequisite to the privilege of academic freedom. Suppose, now, that this law is cited in a case where a teacher is accused by a parent of stating in class that prejudice against various minority groups has not been eradicated in the United States and that good citizens should work to remove such prejudices where they exist. The parent asserts that the statement is "subversive" and the teacher should be discharged. Since the sustaining of such a charge as cause for dismissal would constitute violation of academic freedom, the profession should actively aid the teacher in his defense before the school board, and, if the teacher is dismissed, should bring into play all of its strength—a strength which had not been dissipated by having constantly and loosely talked about violations of academic freedom in the past.

## HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Before the twentieth century, concern over freedom of teaching in the public schools was not very widespread among teachers or citizens in general. Early public schools were not established to stimulate free inquiry. The first schools had their roots in the religious background of Colonial America. Children were to be educated so that they could read the Bible and could better understand religious services. Present also was the goal of fostering good citizenship, but the accent usually was on an obedient attitude more than on a questioning one. The early public schools were aimed more at preserving the status quo than at encouraging new thinking and ideas. Preparation for those going on to college emphasized the academic disciplines, and even when more attention was given to helping the students who were not going to college become more capable of self-support after graduation, the study of social, economic, or political issues was not deemed necessary.

Although public attitude was one of the strongest forces militating against academic freedom in the public schools, equally as important was the low level of preparation of teachers. The typical teacher had neither the inclination nor the ability to deviate far from the noncontroversial material in the textbooks. The chief concern of both teachers and textbooks was the instilling of facts into pupils. At the few points where the study of differing views might be appropriate, dogmatic answers usually were provided. Moreover, during the nineteenth century leading educators were less concerned with determining a better curriculum than with winning the basic struggle to establish public schools on a firm footing throughout the country.

Teachers as a whole submitted without much protest to the myriad restrictions placed upon them. The forms of the restraints varied among the geographical sections of the country, with the different prevailing mores reflected in the taboos. Size of community was also an important conditioning factor. Despite variations, however, moral, social, political, and economic patterns were imposed on almost all phases of teachers' lives.

Prohibitions against the use of tobacco in any form were common. Teachers frequently were forbidden by school board edict to drink any alcoholic beverages. Social dancing was banned in numerous places. Use of profane language at any time or place often

was not to be condoned. Card playing was not permissible in some locations, and in others any form of gambling was listed as a ground for dismissal. Teachers, especially women, had to be very careful in their dress lest they offend the sensitivities of certain citizens. The places where teachers might live were designated on many occasions. Church attendance, sometimes at a specific church, was often a prime requisite for holding a position as teacher. Frequently female teachers were not permitted to be seen in public with male escorts on nights preceding school days, and marriage as a disqualification for women carried over well into the twentieth century in most school systems.

Prior to World War I, teachers were characterized by abstinence from participation in politics and failure to take active roles in groups working for the improvement of economic or social conditions. Most had to be very careful both inside and outside the classroom not only to observe the various bans, but to refrain from betraying disapproved attitudes on such general topics as religion and politics and such specific topics as alcohol and tobacco.

Issues involved in the War Between the States caused considerable difficulties for teachers. Questions often were raised regarding the political loyalty of teachers, and loyalty oaths were instituted in several states. The steady growth of industrialism, with consequent social and economic problems, led to complications for teachers, who meanwhile were gradually becoming better trained and more aware of possibilities and responsibilities beyond the traditional imparting of the three R's. Conflicts between religion and science abridged freedom of teaching in certain parts of the country.

Loyalty legislation, laws prescribing teaching American history and the Constitution, laws requiring certain patriotic exercises, and laws prohibiting "seditious" teachings or actions were given a great impetus during and following World War I. This period also saw teachers' unions rise. In many places teachers who belonged to unions lost their jobs, and "yellow dog" contracts, in which teachers promised not to join unions, were not uncommon. When the depression of the 1930's struck, loyalty prohibitions against teaching alleged socialistic or communistic doctrines spread rapidly. The outbreak of World War II caused more states to pass laws pertaining to teacher loyalty. During the participation of the United States

## CURRICULUM

Every state has laws relating to the curriculum of the public schools. Such laws fall into two categories: they may require that something be taught, or they may forbid something to be taught. In general, the laws which mandate certain teachings do not impinge on academic freedom to a great extent. The majority of such laws require that certain essentially noncontroversial studies be undertaken in the schools. Examples include hygiene and health, citizenship, United States history, the Constitution, the effects of alcohol and narcotics, conservation of natural resources, fire prevention, and physical education. Some of the laws are quite specific as to time spent on prescribed topics, both regarding grade levels and number of hours, and a few go so far as to indicate procedures which must be used. Many states have laws mandating certain observances to be made in the schools. Exercises appropriate to such days as Columbus Day, Armistice Day, Arbor Day, Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, and many other special days often are required by statute. Stipulations such as those mentioned may be annoying to school personnel and somewhat disruptive to the school program, but from the standpoint of academic freedom they are basically innocuous.

Some laws pertaining to elements in the curriculum, however, are more subject to abuse in interpretation, despite good intent by the legislatures. Arkansas law, for example, states that the primary object of instruction in American history shall be "the instilling into the hearts of the various pupils of an understanding of the United States and of a love of country and of a devotion to the principles of American government." Teachers in Mississippi are required "to devote at least one-half hour each week at certain definite periods to teaching the duties and obligations of citizenship, patriotism, Americanism, and respect for and obedience to law." "All persons engaged in teaching in the public schools of Nebraska and all other employees paid from public school funds" must pledge in part: "I acknowledge it to be my duty to inculcate in the hearts and minds of all pupils in my care, so far as it is in my power to do, . . . a love and devotion to the policies and institutions that have made America the finest country in the world in which to live . . ."

trators. Some groups, particularly certain religious denominations which object to specific elements in the curriculum, often press to have their children excused from such instruction, rather than to eliminate the offensive parts.

#### PHILOSOPHY

The philosophy under which schools are operated, or are alleged to be operated, is the object of much heated controversy. "Progressive education" is a focal point for pressures in this area. When "progressive education" is attacked, it usually either is not defined or is defined in terms which justify the particular accusation which the critic desires to make. To it are attributed most of the ills which in anyone's opinion beset the schools. The usually tacit assumption is that almost all public schools are being conducted according to the ideas of "progressive education." Not only is this hypothesis incorrect, but the conclusions drawn vary from the allegation that "progressive education" fosters lack of respect for authority to the one that "progressive" educators are trying to make state-controlled robots of students.

An editorial in a widely circulated magazine went so far afield as to interpret "progressivism" as holding that parents have no competence in education and thus should not interfere with "experts," and, further, that even though parents are taxpayers they have no more right to suggest how their children should be educated than a patient has to dictate to a medical doctor.<sup>3</sup> An organization known as the National Council for American Education<sup>4</sup> published a pamphlet, entitled *Progressive Education Increases Delinquency*, in which it is loosely charged that "progressive" education "has curtailed thinking," "wrecks the individual," "promotes socialism," "opposes individualism," and "produces social delinquency."

Another of the prime contentions of those disapproving current ideas is that "the three R's" are being neglected in modern educational philosophy. This criticism persists despite test results which

<sup>3</sup> *The Saturday Evening Post*, Editorial, p. 10, July 14, 1951.

<sup>4</sup> This organization, of which Allen A. Zoll was Executive Vice-President in 1954, has been cited as "an enemy of public education" by the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education of the National Education Association.

do not support it. Many of those who decry "frills and fads" want to refuse teachers the freedom for experimentation and innovation that they support for scientists, businessmen, and artists.

"The schools are godless" is still another common shibboleth. The accusation, while not new, has attained an increased virulence in some quarters since World War II. Certain sectarian religious groups usually form the source for variations of this theme. Failure of the schools to teach a sectarian religion is the basis for charges of being anti-religious. Teaching in the public schools moral and spiritual values accepted by all religions does not satisfy those who hold the philosophy that religion should permeate all learning.

Variously worded indictments, to the effect that the public schools are fostering communism, socialism, collectivism, and "subversive" doctrines while undermining traditional American philosophies, are quite prevalent. Several organizations, according to published aims, are committed to combat this alleged tendency. The aforementioned National Council for American Education has as one of its objectives "to eradicate from our schools Marxism, Socialism, Communism, and all other forces that seek to destroy the liberty of the American people." An organization known as Guardians of American Education<sup>5</sup> exists "to protect public school education against current inroads of propaganda designed to discredit patriotic Americanism and bring about radical changes in our form of society." The Institute for Public Service<sup>6</sup> has charged that "learning, and feeling for, our American Heritage are now made so difficult by schools, colleges, professional schools and libraries, that they cannot reasonably be expected (sic)."

In scores of communities charges of "subversiveness" have been made against the schools by individuals and local groups. Usually accompanying such general statements are protests against specific textbooks or teachers; these items will be dealt with in subsequent sections. Much of the difficulty is due to lack of information or misinformation regarding newer methods and goals of the schools. *There are, to be sure, honest and sincere critics who are familiar with the broad concepts of modern education and who disapprove*

\* This organization, of which Augustin G. Rodd was president in 1954, has been similarly cited.

<sup>6</sup> This organization, of which William H. Allen was director in 1954, has been similarly cited.

trators. Some groups, particularly certain religious denominations which object to specific elements in the curriculum, often press to have their children excused from such instruction, rather than to eliminate the offensive parts.

#### PHILOSOPHY

The philosophy under which schools are operated, or are alleged to be operated, is the object of much heated controversy. "Progressive education" is a focal point for pressures in this area. When "progressive education" is attacked, it usually either is not defined or is defined in terms which justify the particular accusation which the critic desires to make. To it are attributed most of the ills which in anyone's opinion beset the schools. The usually tacit assumption is that almost all public schools are being conducted according to the ideas of "progressive education." Not only is this hypothesis incorrect, but the conclusions drawn vary from the allegation that "progressive education" fosters lack of respect for authority to the one that "progressive" educators are trying to make state-controlled robots of students.

An editorial in a widely circulated magazine went so far afield as to interpret "progressivism" as bolding that parents have no competence in education and thus should not interfere with "experts," and, further, that even though parents are taxpayers they have no more right to suggest how their children should be educated than a patient has to dictate to a medical doctor.<sup>3</sup> An organization known as the National Council for American Education<sup>4</sup> published a pamphlet, entitled *Progressive Education Increases Delinquency*, in which it is loosely charged that "progressive" education "has curtailed thinking," "wrecks the individual," "promotes socialism," "opposes individualism," and "produces social delinquency."

Another of the prime contentions of those disapproving current ideas is that "the three R's" are being neglected in modern educational philosophy. This criticism persists despite test results which

<sup>3</sup> *The Saturday Evening Post*, Editorial, p. 10, July 14, 1951.

<sup>4</sup> This organization, of which Allen A. Zoll was Executive Vice-President in 1954, has been cited as "an enemy of public education" by the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education of the National Education Association.

do not support it. Many of those who decry "frills and fads" want to refuse teachers the freedom for experimentation and innovation that they support for scientists, businessmen, and artists.

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<sup>3</sup> This organization, of which Augustus G. Rudd was president in 1954, has been similarly cited.

<sup>4</sup> This organization, of which William H. Allen was director in 1954, has been similarly cited.

them. Informed, constructive criticism is to be solicited. It must be recognized, however, that there also are groups that are in existence solely or primarily to be concerned with things "wrong" with public education. Criticisms from these latter sources are emotional, destructive, bitter, and not reliably documented. The printed aims of such groups are lofty, their real aims highly questionable, and their methods often abhorrent.

#### MATERIALS

Since materials of instruction comprise an indispensable part of the education process, their selection is a key point involving academic freedom. Reasoning people agree that not all printed documents should be permitted in the public schools. Yet where should the line be drawn between those acceptable and those not acceptable? Who should determine the line? By what methods should the decision be reached?

Legally, the final power regarding materials which may be used in public schools rests with the state. In about half of the states the power to choose textbooks has been delegated to local school boards. In the others such centralized state authorities as the state board of education or a state textbook commission exercise the function to varying degrees. On the state level there may be single listing of texts (one book per grade per subject), multiple listing (several books per grade per subject), or a combination of these methods. In several states books for some grades are selected by state authorities and those for other grades by local agencies such as the local school board or county textbook commission. Materials other than textbooks are usually selected locally.

Operational patterns vary within this legal framework of responsibility for selection. In most situations the selecting board utilizes professional opinion to some extent. Attention paid to professional views varies from almost complete acceptance in some jurisdictions to almost complete disregard when controversies arise in others. Whether recommendations regarding selection should be made by a primarily professional group, a primarily lay group, or an evenly divided group is a point on which there is disagreement.

Although goals of education are a legitimate—indeed a basic—

concern of all citizens, it seems to the authors that the selection of materials for achieving the goals is principally a professional matter. This point of view does not exclude lay citizens from express-

## GRIN AND BEAR IT

By Lichty



"Don't know why Congress is so fussed about subversive school books... I have yet to see one of our kids look at school books..."

Lichty, copyright Field Enterprises, Inc., 1952.

ing their convictions about materials. In fact, lay citizens should be encouraged to do so, and their ideas should be seriously considered. This concept also does not imply any change in the authority of local or state lay boards of education to have the final

decision as to the acceptability of materials. It does maintain, though, that professionally trained personnel should be the prime source of recommendations concerning materials to be used in the education process. To hold otherwise would be to abrogate professional responsibility.

In recent years materials used in public schools have been the focal points of intense and prolonged controversy. Protests against the use of certain books have been made in all parts of the nation. Three distinct patterns of objection are discernible: (1) the general orientation of a book is such that it should be banned in its entirety; (2) certain passages of a text are unacceptable; (3) the author has said, done, or written things elsewhere which are so offensive as to warrant the removal from the schools of anything he ever wrote. A substantial majority of the complaints are directed at materials allegedly subversive—not only in the political sense, but also often in the economic and social senses. It is in this vast and vague area of "subversiveness" that most of the conflicts arise. Not so widely publicized, however, although just as ominous for academic freedom, are pressures directed at expunging from the schools items offensive to certain religious, racial, or other special interest groups. The problem here is an especially difficult one for school personnel, because materials found objectionable depend in considerable measure on the individual or group voicing the charge. Moreover, some organizations which vigorously oppose pressure brought against certain materials try to have other things banned. Many apparently fail to recognize this inconsistency and see "censorship" as repugnant only when others try to impose it.

Criticism of materials has emanated chiefly from three sources, in addition to citizens speaking and writing primarily as individuals: (1) groups organized primarily to review or investigate school materials; (2) groups reviewing or investigating school materials as one phase of their over-all programs; and (3) legislative committees.

According to a 1952 survey conducted by *The New York Times*, "voluntary groups are being formed in nearly every state to screen books for 'subversive' or un-American statements. These organizations, not accountable to any legal body, are sometimes doing

great harm in their communities."<sup>7</sup> Some of the groups are local in origin and operation, although must make use, to differing degrees, of information furnished by outside organizations. It would seem accurate to say that most of these local groups, or at least a majority of their members, have good intentions in their relations with public education. But much harm can derive from well-intentioned actions.

On a national scale the Committee on Education of the Conference of American Small Business Organizations publishes a quarterly entitled *The Educational Reviewer*.<sup>8</sup> The stated purpose of this magazine is "in the light of truth, objectivity, and established American ideals, to examine the publications used in instructing American youth." Most of the reviews emphasize alleged un-American ideas expressed in the materials reviewed. The periodical is "credited" with bringing about the removal of numerous books in various localities. After Frank A. Magruder's *American Government*, long a well-regarded text in hundreds of school systems, was "reviewed" in this publication, it was banned in at least two states and numerous cities. In other places the book was retained when distortions in the "review" were pointed out. The program of the National Council for American Education includes the review of textbooks and the dissemination of "these reports on un-American textbooks to all who have to do with their selection, including the boards of education of all states, cities and counties."

The second category, comprising groups concerned with school materials as only one phase of their programs, is a diverse one. Perhaps the largest organization in this classification is the American Legion. The Legion in 1949 adopted a national policy on investigation of instructional materials. The purpose of the policy is

"... to foster a positive attitude towards democratic ideals and principles in all educational institutions and activities by:

a. Offering to Posts and other groups and agencies of the American

<sup>7</sup> Benjamin Fine, "Textbook Censors Alarm Educators," *The New York Times*, May 25, 1952.

<sup>8</sup> The editor of *The Educational Reviewer* in 1954 was Lucille C. Crain. The group publishing it has been cited by the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education of the National Education Association as "an enemy of public education."

- Legion a yardstick by which textbooks and other instructional materials used or to be used in the public schools may be measured as to conformance with the principles of American democracy.
- b. Bringing about better understanding between those who prepare and provide instructional materials and representatives of organizations especially concerned with their use in programs that promote the preservation and development of democratic ideals and principles.
  - c. Protecting The American Legion against the hasty, ill-advised or snap judgment of any Post or individual in "black-listing" instructional materials."<sup>9</sup>

Attitudes and actions of local posts in regard to academic freedom have varied from highly constructive to very destructive.

The National Society of Sons of the American Revolution petitioned the United States Congress for a "Congressional investigation of the subversive propaganda injuriously affecting the public schools of the several states." The petition supported by a lengthy brief, contains the following statements:

Subversive textbooks are in general use in the public schools of most of the states.

They originate from sources which are interstate and national in scope.

The propaganda therein has a direct tendency to undermine and eventually to destroy constitutional government in this country.

Courses of study of this type are now recommended for elementary as well as secondary schools. The material originates from Schools of Education in our leading universities.

Effective control of this situation is beyond the power and outside the reach of processes available to the Legislatures of the several states.

There is an urgent need of a national investigation sufficiently broad in scope to cover all phases of the subject.<sup>10</sup>

The House of Delegates of the American Medical Association in 1951 in effect endorsed the Bill of Grievances and resolved that Congress be requested "to make a thorough investigation of our entire school system, with particular reference to the teachers and authors of textbooks advocating the overthrow of the American system of free enterprise by the infiltration of un-American fallacies of collectivism."<sup>11</sup>

At its second 1951 meeting, the House of Delegates somewhat revised its position in the following resolution:

WHEREAS there has been some misunderstanding concerning the resolution adopted by the House of Delegates in June, 1951, calling for a Congressional investigation of the teaching of collectivism in our schools; be it

RESOLVED, The American Medical Association hereby reaffirms its belief in and support of the American public school system as a bulwark of our constitutional republic and that system must exercise its proper function of disciplining and instructing our youth in order that they upon the attainment of maturity may assume their rightful positions as responsible and productive citizens; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the attention of every American is once again directed to the dangerous inroads upon our national thinking already achieved by the insidious philosophy of collectivism. Those educators who have seen this danger and are opposing it deserve our hearty commendation and enthusiastic support. Those who have attempted to pervert our school system from its true educational function to that of indoctrination should be relieved of further opportunity to achieve their goals.<sup>12</sup>

On the state level a committee of the New York State Bar Association, in 1952, issued a report, entitled "Socialism in Our Schools," which expressed growing concern over "anti-private business and pro-socialistic totalitarian propaganda that has become increasingly evident in school textbooks and school material in general throughout the Republic."<sup>13</sup> Most of the allegations were based on materials found in *The Educational Reviewer*. The report makes the following recommendation: "It is suggested that the members of our Association actively support *The Educational Reviewer* not only by regularly reading the quarterly publications but that each one as citizens, fathers, and taxpayers [sic] insist that our school system be an American Institution and not a 'hot bed' for Socialistic propaganda."<sup>14</sup> The following year the Association did not accept a follow-up report by the subcommittee.

Several legislative committees have been concerned with materi-

<sup>12</sup> Resolution of House of Delegates of American Medical Association, December, 1951.

<sup>13</sup> New York State Bar Association, *Proceedings of 75th Annual Meeting*, p. 253. (Albany: the Association, 1952). (Report of the Sub-Committee on School Textbooks of Committee on American Citizenship.)

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 263-4.

als used in the public schools. Most of these have been on the state level, although some have been local. In 1949 the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives seriously considered a national textbook investigation but was dissuaded by waves of protest.

In several states legislative committees aimed at probing into alleged subversive activities in general have given some attention to the schools. Usually when they have looked into education they have been concerned more with personnel than with materials. One state committee which concentrated to a considerable extent on textbooks was the one in California. There extensive hearings were held, and one published report condemns the *Building America* series of texts. A legislative committee investigating textbooks in Tennessee in 1953 officially reported that it "would like to reassure the parents of the state and the general public that the investigation revealed no evidence whatever of any attempts thru public school to willfully indoctrinate the youth of the state with communistic or socialistic philosophies or practices."<sup>18</sup> This group went on beyond the original scope of the inquiry to point out the importance of taking steps to improve teacher salaries and otherwise making teaching more attractive.

In many school systems criteria for textbook selection have been determined or revised to cope with current pressures. The Denver public schools, for example, use the following guides for texts:

A. *Authorship*

1. The writer is competent to write in this field.
2. So far as can be ascertained, the writer supports the principles of American constitutional government.

B. *Material*

1. In dealing with controversial issues the material presents all sides fairly.
2. Material shall treat all groups with respect.
3. The conclusions presented in the material shall be supportable by evidence.
4. The nature and content of the material are consistent with the principles of American constitutional government.

5. Material shall be in good taste and conform to generally accepted moral standards and spiritual values.<sup>16</sup>

In 1952 New York instituted a unique arrangement on the state level to deal with allegations of "subversiveness" in textbooks. (New York has no statewide textbook authority; each local board is free to select its own materials.) A special commission was appointed by the State Board of Regents (the state board responsible for public schools) to consider complaints against alleged subversive textbooks used in any public schools in the state. The commission comprises the State Commissioner of Education, a former judge in the highest court of the state, and a woman who was a former American Mother of the Year. It is to act only on written complaints which may be submitted by any citizen or group of citizens. If a book were to be declared "subversive" it would be banned throughout the state. During the first two years not one complaint was registered with the commission.

Books have not been the only target of attack. Many other materials of instruction have been condemned. Magazines have been proscribed in many school systems for the same general reasons which have led to banning of books. Films and phonograph records have come in for criticism, and some have been removed, not only because of content but because of political affiliations of some performers. Speakers have been barred from school assemblies and from in-service training courses for teachers.

Prohibitions against the use of certain materials are not new; nor are rulings to remove items once considered acceptable. In recent years, however, the teacher's freedom of choice of materials has been considerably more restricted in many places. It is not difficult in any part of the country to find illustrations of books and other instructional aids which have fallen beyond the pale in someone's opinion and against which protests have been launched.

Pressures have been brought against books ranging from Magruder's *American Government* through *The Merchant of Venice* to *Little Black Sambo*. Situations threatening to violate, and often clearly violating, academic freedom in the use of materials have arisen in connection with groups ranging in attitude toward public

<sup>16</sup>"Criteria and Procedures for Use in Selection of Instructional Materials in the Denver Public Schools," *Denver Public Schools Instruction News*, 9 (No. 8): 3, May, 1953.

Oaths in twelve states bar membership in "subversive" groups in general and a thirteenth (that of Georgia) bans membership in the Communist Party without designating other groups. Teachers in twelve states must explicitly pledge to refrain from "subversive" teachings.

In Nebraska, public school teachers in addition to an oath similar to New Hampshire's, must sign the following statement:

I, \_\_\_\_\_, do believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; an indissoluble nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I acknowledge it to be my duty to inculcate in the hearts and minds of all pupils in my care, so far as it is in my power to do, (1) an understanding of the Constitutions of the United States and of the State of Nebraska, (2) a knowledge of the history of the nation and of the sacrifices that have been made in order that it might achieve its present greatness, (3) a love and devotion to the policies and institutions that have made America the finest country in the world in which to live, and (4) opposition to all organizations and activities that would destroy our present form of government.<sup>19</sup>

A majority of the newer oath laws pertain to all public employees rather than to teachers alone. Most of those applying to all public employees, however, specifically mention teachers, apparently for emphasis, since public school personnel clearly would be covered in almost all instances without such special legislative attention.

In addition to oaths mandated by the state, public school teachers are sometimes subject to loyalty affirmations required by local school boards. These may take the typical oath form as in Cleveland, Ohio, and Kansas City, Missouri, or they may be in the form of sworn answers to specific questions, as in New York City and Newark, New Jersey. Loyalty oaths locally prescribed are more common in larger school systems than in smaller ones.

Requiring an oath or sworn statement is by far the most often-used administrative technique in relation to teacher loyalty. In this connection, it is interesting to note that a poll of almost 250

<sup>19</sup> Nebraska Session Laws of 1951, Legislative Bill 257, sec. 4.

leaders in the field of education, including state and local superintendents, presidents of state education associations, presidents of state school boards associations, and professors of educational administration, revealed that only about 3 per cent picked this way as the best for determining loyalty of applicants for employment.<sup>20</sup>

The merits and dangers of loyalty oaths for teachers have been much debated, both in and out of the profession. The arguments in favor of oaths may be summarized as follows:

(1) "Subversive" teachers can be discharged on the legal ground of oath violation more easily than on more intangible bases related to "subversive" activities;

(2) The taking of an oath tends to increase the prestige of the post of teacher, for provision is customarily made for public officers to take oaths;

(3) An oath can be stimulating and satisfying, as the Hippocratic Oath of physicians;

(4) The taking of oaths by teachers has a salutary effect on the public.<sup>21</sup>

(5) Teachers should be willing to swear to true statements.

The points against requiring oaths include:

(1) They are ineffective in rooting out "subversives," for anyone who is disloyal to his country would not shrink from perjury;

(2) Some oaths are so worded that any semblance of academic freedom could be abrogated by fanatical enforcement;

(3) Some teachers object to the imputations in the requirement of an oath not mandated for all citizens;

(4) Some teachers of unquestionable loyalty are bound by religious tenets from taking oaths;

(5) The prescription of an oath tends to bring about a sense of false security in the minds of many citizens.<sup>22</sup>

Opposition to teacher oaths in general has been voiced by the large national professional associations of public school personnel—the National Education Association as a body; many of its components, such as the American Association of School Administrators; and the American Federation of Teachers. Several state and local associations have followed this lead. Other state and local associations have not taken official stands. Still others have initiated

<sup>20</sup> E. Edmund Reutter, Jr., *The School Administrator and Subversive Activities* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951), p. 83.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>22</sup> *Loc. cit.*

or supported oaths, primarily as a public relations move. So far as individual teachers are concerned, considerable evidence indicates that most of them are "neutral" about oath requirements. Reasons differ in kind and degree from fear of expressing opposition, to lack of concern, to a belief that an oath can do little harm and may do some good. The result, however, definitely is not a general policy of opposition, despite the feelings and statements of many spokesmen on the subject.

The public as a whole, although it may not actively favor oaths, is decidedly not opposed to them. Such a conclusion is supported by opinion polls and analyses of specific localities. It is perhaps most dramatically demonstrated by the actions in proposing and enacting oaths of state legislators, who certainly would not act in direct opposition to the expressed wishes of their constituents. Since World War II eight states have begun to require teacher oaths and eight others have enacted oaths much more restrictive than those previously required. In several instances oath bills were vetoed by governors and such proposals have been introduced but not passed in the legislatures of a score of states. The great differences among specific oaths, however, seem to the authors to make dogmatic statements about loyalty oaths inappropriate if not impossible.

### LAWS TO EXCLUDE DISLOYAL PUBLIC SCHOOL PERSONNEL WITHOUT AN OATH REQUIREMENT

Although loyalty oaths have tended to become the symbol of legislative restrictions on teachers, in 1953 half of the states provided specifically for the exclusion of disloyal teachers without requiring oaths. Sixteen states, through a non-oath type of law, explicitly prohibit teachers from advocating alleged subversive doctrines. (See Table 7.) Teachers are specifically mentioned in eleven instances, and come under the restraint in the other five by virtue of being public employees. In Indiana, for example, teachers may be dismissed for "seditious utterances." California law provides a teacher shall not "advocate or teach communism with the intent to indoctrinate any pupil with, or inculcate a preference in the mind of any pupil for communism." One cannot teach in Louisiana if he should "by word of mouth or writing knowingly or willfully advocate, abet, advise, or teach, the duty, necessity, desirability, or

propriety, of overthrowing or destroying the government of the United States or of any state or of any political subdivision thereof, by force, violence, or any other unlawful means, or the adherence to the government of any foreign nation in the event of war between the United States and such foreign government." He would be dismissed in Texas if found guilty of "openly advocating doctrines which seek to undermine or overthrow by force or violence the republican and democratic forms of the government in the United States."

Twelve states have laws which, without requiring oaths, prohibit teachers in public schools from joining "subversive" groups and a thirteenth (Kansas) has a unique statute which makes teachers who do so ineligible for retirement benefits. Tennessee, for example, provides that no person "who is a member of a political party subscribing to a political faith which advocates the overthrow of the American form of government shall be employed on either a temporary or permanent basis in any school in this state financed in whole or in part with public funds." Mississippi excludes teachers who belong to "any organization which engages in or advocates, abets, advises, or teaches, or a purpose of which is to engage in or advocate, abet, advise, or teach activities intended to overthrow, destroy or alter, or to assist in the overthrow, destruction or alteration of, the constitutional form of the government of the United States, or of the State of Mississippi, or of any political subdivision of either of them, by revolution, force, violence, or other means not provided for or sanctioned by the Constitution of the State of Mississippi or the Constitution of the United States." Arkansas bans from any public employment a person who is a member of a "Nazi, Fascist, or Communist society, or any organization affiliated with such societies."

As with oaths, non-oath policies frequently are local in origin. In various parts of the country, boards of education have set up rules and regulations regarding teacher loyalty. Although written policies are found primarily in large cities,<sup>21</sup> there is no reason

<sup>21</sup> An example of a detailed policy is the one in Baltimore. Since 1948, the following rules have been operative: "(1) *Rule Applying to Educational Employees with Tenure*: If an educational employee with tenure is found guilty (after trial as provided in the rules) of disloyalty to the United States or to our American ideals of democracy he shall be dismissed. (2) *Rule Applying to Persons Other than Educational Employees with Tenure*: No person whose

to believe that smaller school systems are not as concerned with the problem as are larger ones. Most of the regulations are relatively recent in origin, although some, like that in Indianapolis specifying that "No officer or employee of the Board shall be guilty of disloyalty to the United States either by word, written or spoken, or act," are over a quarter-century old.

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loyalty to our American ideals of democracy is not clear shall be assigned, appointed, or elected to any position in the school system, or retained in any position in the school system."

In 1953, "the United States" was substituted in the second rule for "our American ideals of democracy" and the latter term was deleted from the first rule. Also adopted was the following procedure: "If the Superintendent, the Deputy Superintendent, any Assistant Superintendent, the Director of Personnel, or any member of the Board of School Commissioners shall receive any written statement or any oral statement from any responsible person which raises a serious question with respect to the loyalty to the United States on the part of any employee of the Department of Education, it shall be the duty of such person so receiving such information to bring such written statement or to report such oral statement to the members of the Board of School Commissioners in private session. Upon any such written statement or oral statement and after such further investigation, reports, hearings or interviews as the Board may deem proper, the Board shall by majority vote determine whether the employee shall be required to answer the following questions. (a) Are you a Communist? (b) Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of any Communist Organization? (c) Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of any organization, association, movement, club, or combination of persons which advocates the overthrow of the constitutional form of government of the United States by force or violence or which seeks to alter the form of our government by unconstitutional means?

If your answer to either of the last two questions is yes, state the name of the organization, dates of membership and extent of participation. An explanation regarding membership in any of these organizations may be attached hereto on a separate sheet of paper if you desire to explain the circumstances of your membership.

If such employee shall answer Question (a) above 'Yes,' or shall refuse to answer any one of the three questions, the Superintendent shall immediately prefer charges to the Board of School Commissioners against such employee, based upon such answer or refusal to answer. . . .

At the trial, after such answer or refusal to answer shall have been offered in evidence, the burden will be upon the employee to establish his or her loyalty and to show cause why he or she should not be dismissed from the employment of the Department of Education, whether or not he or she has tenure.

If such employee shall answer either Question (b) or Question (c) 'Yes,' the answers shall be reported to the Board of School Commissioners, who shall determine what action, if any, shall be taken, consistent with law and the rules of this Board."—Board of School Commissioners, Baltimore, Maryland, Minutes of Meetings, January 15, 1953, and February 5, 1953.

## THE NEW YORK STATE FEINBERG LAW

The "Feinberg Anti-Subversive Law" in New York State deserves special attention. One reason is that the law was the first pertaining to teacher loyalty to come before the United States Supreme Court, which declared it constitutional. Moreover, the statute goes far into the administrative realm as differentiated from the policy field. Also, no teacher loyalty statute has received as much nationwide publicity, much of it inaccurate.

Enacted in 1949, but nonoperative until 1952 due to litigation, the Feinberg Law gives essentially three instructions to the Board of Regents: (1) to adopt and enforce rules to implement two existing laws;<sup>21</sup> (2) after inquiry to compile a list of organizations, membership in which would constitute prima facie evidence of disqualification of public school teachers; (3) to submit annual reports to the legislature. Thus the Feinberg Law basically is an administrative law, placing no new restrictions on teachers but rather outlining procedures to implement prior substantive laws. According to the Regents' Rules, local systems are to submit to the Regents annually a numerical accounting covering the loyalty status of all employees and the names of any persons found to be disqualified for appointment or retention, accompanied by the supporting evidence therefor. Another provision in the rules is that after an organization is placed on the proscribed list by the Board of Regents,<sup>22</sup> a teacher has ten days in which to terminate "in good faith" his membership before such membership would become prima facie evidence of disqualification. When the Board of Regents in 1953 submitted to the legislature its first report, based on reports from the approximately 2,500 school districts in the state, the board concluded that "there is no evidence that any of their [local boards] employees are members of any organization which advocates the overthrow of the Government by force, violence or other unlawful means or that any of their employees are charged with being

<sup>21</sup> These statutes are a 1917 one providing for removal of public school personnel for "treasonable or seditious" words or acts and a 1939 one barring anyone who teaches, or belongs to a group which advocates, violent overthrow of the government.

<sup>22</sup> In September of 1953, about four and one half years after the enactment of the Feinberg Law, the Regents put the first organization on the list. It was the Communist Party.

engaged in subversive activities." It should be emphasized that no teacher has been dismissed under the Feinberg Law as of the beginning of 1954.<sup>26</sup>

Members of the Communist Party shall not be employed in the American schools. Such membership involves adherence to doctrines and discipline completely inconsistent with the principles of freedom on which American education depends. Such membership and the accompanying surrender of intellectual integrity render an individual unfit to discharge the duties of a teacher in this country.

At the same time we condemn the careless, incorrect, and unjust use of such words as "Red" and "Communist" to attack teachers and other persons who in point of fact are not communists, but who merely have views different from those of their accusers. The whole spirit of free American education will be subverted unless teachers are free to think for themselves. It is because members of the Communist Party are required to surrender this right, as a consequence of becoming part of a movement characterized by conspiracy and calculated deceit, that they shall be excluded from employment as teachers and from membership in the National Education Association.

It was at its 1952 convention that the American Federation of Teachers in effect reversed its prior position that membership in the Communist Party in and of itself was not sufficient cause for dismissal from a public school post. A resolution was adopted providing that "the AFT and/or its locals does not undertake to defend a teacher whose membership in the AFT is, or would be, in violation of [the AFT Constitution,<sup>27</sup> but] . . . it is the duty of any local to see that a teacher accused of being a member of the Communist Party or any other totalitarian organization has every opportunity to clear himself of the charge."

The main arguments advanced against a blanket exclusion of all members of the Communist Party from teaching posts include:

1. Since the Communist Party is not outlawed in the United States, to prevent its members from holding teaching positions would be to discriminate against members of minority political parties, and would be a first step toward excluding those composing other unpopular minorities.

2. To exclude members of the Communist Party per se is to attribute guilt by association by holding that all members subscribe to the extreme positions of some and is to inflict a penalty for thought rather than action. If a member abuses his privileges as a

<sup>27</sup> Those "subject to totalitarian control such as Fascist, Nazi, or Communist" long had been officially barred from membership in that organization by a provision in its constitution.

teacher or slants his teaching, he should be dismissed on these grounds.

3. All ideas are needed for a well-rounded educational program; it is essential to study about Communism, and members of the Communist Party are best able to present Communist thinking.

4. To try to remove members of the Communist Party will do much more harm than good to the educational system. Teachers will tend to be frightened and the system will be disrupted. Moreover, known Communists are not the really dangerous ones.

The leading arguments in support of preventing all members of the Communist Party from teaching include:

1. One has no constitutional right to be a public school teacher. Not everyone who does not violate the law of the land possesses the special personal qualifications needed for the important post of teacher. The Communist Party is not really a political party; it is a conspiracy. The contention that action to eliminate Communists presages drives against other minorities is a non sequitur.

2. Joining the Communist Party is an act of acceptance of the requirement to participate in the party program, which program is in conflict with basic American principles. The Communist Party philosophy includes use of subterfuge to achieve Party goals, and therefore, if members were permitted to teach, it would be very difficult to detect slanted instruction without constant observation.

3. Membership in the Communist Party involves acceptance of certain dogma and discipline which keeps one's mind from being free, a prime requisite for a teacher in the United States. Although it is necessary to teach about Communism, to do this does not necessitate employment of Communists anymore than to teach criminology requires employing gangsters.

4. If sound procedures are used, elimination of members of the Communist Party, rather than having a harmful effect on the school system, will serve to protect the true liberals by differentiating them clearly from Communists.

The latter set of arguments seems compelling to the authors, who believe that there is no place in the public schools for those who belong to the Communist Party. Facts about its nature, brought to light in a number of reliable investigations, point unmistakably to the conclusion that membership in the Communist Party should disqualify one from membership in the profession of

public school teaching. Past membership, however, cannot be handled so categorically. Time of belonging and sincerity of the withdrawal from the Party are two criteria on which to base a decision.

## LEGISLATIVE INVESTIGATIONS

The post-World War II period gave rise to numerous investigations of alleged subversive activities by committees of legislative bodies. So far as the field of education was concerned, up until 1952 these were conducted primarily by committees of state legislatures. Although this type of inquiry was not entirely novel,<sup>29</sup> the extent and rapidity of its spread was new. The legislatures of at least thirteen states<sup>30</sup> in recent years have set up such committees. They have operated in various ways and have given different degrees of attention to educational institutions. Colleges and universities have been subjected to far more scrutiny than have public schools. Many of the committees have recommended restrictive legislation relating to loyalty of public school personnel, and a number of such bills have become law.

In the early 1950's a new situation developed—investigations of alleged subversive influences in education by Congressional committees. A few educators had appeared previously as individuals before Congressional committees concerned with loyalty. Never before, however, had Congressional committees focused investigations on education, which legally is regarded as a state function as differentiated from a federal or a municipal function.

In the fall of 1952 the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee began hearings on "subversive influence in the educational process." Early in 1953 the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives began a new series of hearings involving educators. It was pointed out that the two committees would not cover the same ground: the Senate

<sup>29</sup>The New York State Legislature, for example, had conducted large scale investigations into alleged subversive activities shortly after World War I (The Lusk Committee) and at the beginning of World War II (The Rapp-Coudert Committee).

<sup>30</sup>Arizona, California, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Washington. See p. 308.

group would look for organized subversion, while the House committee would investigate individuals.<sup>30</sup>

Response to the idea of such inquiries was voluminous and varied. The chief arguments offered in support of legislative investigations into alleged subversion in education include:

1. Legislative committees have certain legal powers, such as the power of subpoena, which boards of education lack and without which thorough investigation cannot be conducted.

2. Legislative committees have the personnel and facilities for conducting investigations; boards of education do not.

3. Opposition to such investigations tends to arouse suspicions that educators have "something to hide."

4. Educators put themselves in an untenable position if they support legislative investigations in general and oppose them where education is involved.

5. Legislative committees, since members come from outside of the local community, can operate with more objectivity than is possible for local school boards.

6. Such investigations will be sure to show that the extent of subversive infiltration into the schools is infinitesimal, and the public will be much more assured of this fact than if the "schools in-

\*The Senate group was under the chairmanship of Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada until 1953, when Senator William E. Jenner of Indiana became chairman. The House group was headed by Congressman Harold H. Velde of Illinois.

In its July 17, 1953, report the Senate subcommittee quotes a policy statement of Senator Jenner: "Our purpose is to protect and safeguard academic freedom. Academic freedom is under attack by a monstrous growth no individual or community of scholars can fight alone. . . . Our committee is not concerned with telling the leaders of our schools and colleges what to teach, or how to teach. It is concerned with showing them where this alien conspiracy is hidden, that it is fully armed with every weapon, waiting to attack at every vantage point. It is concerned with helping our academic leaders to meet the threat. There can be no academic freedom until this Soviet conspiracy hidden in our schools and colleges is exposed to the light, and the rule of Moscow over its adherents in the educational world is broken." This report includes the following recommendations:

"That educational authorities give consideration to the establishment of criteria and the initiation of procedures whereby schools, colleges and universities can eliminate teachers who have demonstrated their unsuitability to teach, because of their collaboration with the Communist conspiracy. . . .

That school authorities, colleges, and local boards of education institute positive programs, under qualified experts in the field of combating communism, to teach both teachers and school pupils the nature of the Communist conspiracy that is attacking the whole structure of our society."

investigated themselves" or if boards of education failed to take any steps to look into the matter.

7. Since hearings before legislative committees usually are given wide publicity, a large audience will be attracted, a situation which may be capitalized on to achieve better public understanding of academic freedom.

8. Legislative investigations serve to stir educators into needed reassessments of academic freedom and responsibility.

Opposition to legislative inquiries into alleged subversion in education is supported by the following tenets:

1. Local boards of education representing the people of a community are charged with managing the public schools within the legal framework. Legislative investigations constitute a grave threat to this traditional local control of schools.

2. Such investigations stimulate a climate of unrest, uncertainty, and fear on the part of educators, a condition which militates against good education and leads toward a deadly "conformity."

3. Many legislators are not very familiar with modern methods and goals of public education (and such knowledge is not to be expected of them); therefore often they are not qualified to conduct investigations into this area.

4. Some legislators have demonstrated in certain investigations that they are not really interested in getting facts. Their aim is to gain publicity by sensationalism, and charges of subversion, however ill-founded, make "news."

5. There is so little evidence of any alleged subversion in the education enterprise that legislative investigations are not worth while from the points of time or cost.

6. Legislative investigations stir up suspicions and uncertainty in the populace. The exceedingly small number of teachers involved tends generally to be underplayed by communication media and lost sight of by many citizens, so that the "discovery" of a few Communists raises doubts about the unswerving loyalty of the million-odd public school staff personnel.

7. Legislative investigations have concentrated almost entirely on "subversive" influences from the "left" and thereby distracted attention from "subversive" influences from the "right."

8. Legislative investigations of education tend to inject partisan political considerations into the education enterprise.

committees may gravely threaten the local control of schools which is so essential to our decentralized system of education and the survival of American freedoms. The education of citizens in this critical period of our history must be reserved entirely to the control of local school boards under the laws of the several states.

The American Federation of Teachers at their 1953 convention adopted resolutions similar to the preceding one of the National Education Association. The union, however, opposed the dismissal of a teacher solely on the basis of use of the Fifth Amendment in refusal to testify before a legislative committee, a point not specifically treated by the National Education Association.

The problem of what to do about teachers who, when called before legislative inquiries, utilize the Fifth Amendment as a basis for refusing to testify was becoming a pressing one as the number of such cases increased. Legal questions as well as moral ones are involved. As of the beginning of 1954, the Congressional committees were still accepting this reason for not testifying. But whether such lack of cooperation with a governmental body is acceptable conduct for a teacher remained a moot point.<sup>21</sup>

### JUDICIAL INTERPRETATIONS

That disloyalty to the American form of government renders one unfit to teach in the public schools is unchallengeable in the abstract. When specific circumstances are involved, however, the situation becomes somewhat hazy. Clear judicial interpretation of the steps which may be taken to assure loyalty is not available. Nor are there concrete determinations regarding which activities are so "subversive" as to constitute grounds for dismissal.

One reason is that there has been a dearth of test cases. The period of intense concern over "subversion" which began shortly after World War II has been brief from the point of view of establishing judicial precedents, especially in such a fermenting area. Moreover, the number of teachers removed for reasons relating to "sub-

<sup>21</sup> In many jurisdictions legislation on this subject was being considered as some teachers and other public employees invoked the Fifth Amendment. A Michigan statute of 1952, applying to all public employees, but concentrating particularly on teachers, prescribed that refusal to testify before duly authorized bodies regarding membership in the Communist Party or "front" organizations on the ground of possible incrimination would be in dismissal proceedings *prima facie* evidence of membership.

versive" activities has been very small. Many of the situations have involved failure of boards to re-employ teachers in succeeding years rather than discharge of teachers currently employed, and thus, in the absence of tenure or contract rights, no basis for court review was available. Furthermore, many of this relatively small number were dismissed on charges less controversial and more easily substantiated, such as insubordination or incompetency. Many who could have taken their cases to court did not do so.

Most of the cases that have reached the courts in recent years have involved loyalty oaths. Almost all have been concerned with the constitutionality of the oaths rather than with alleged violations of them. Since 1951, cases specifically involving teacher oaths have reached the highest courts of four states (California,<sup>32</sup> New Jersey, Ohio, and Oklahoma) and the United States Supreme Court. In each instance the legality of requiring an oath was upheld. The prescriptions in the Oklahoma oath, however, were such that the United States Supreme Court declared it invalid. On the bases of these and other cases it may be concluded that the constitutionality of mandating loyalty oaths for public school personnel seems certain but that the legality of certain provisions found in some oaths has not been adequately adjudicated.

The United States Supreme Court has rendered only two decisions directly concerned with teacher loyalty, both during 1952. The first upheld, by a vote of six to three, the constitutionality of the previously described Feinberg Anti-Subversive Law in New York State.<sup>33</sup> The second unanimously found an Oklahoma loyalty oath<sup>34</sup> unconstitutional because it contained clauses which violated "due process." A person taking the oath was to swear that within the preceding five years he had not been a member of an organization of a type deemed "subversive." The oath was required of all current and prospective public officers and employees, with employees of school districts specifically covered. The highest tribunal

found invalid such blanket disqualification because of mere past membership in a proscribed organization without proof of awareness at the time of membership of its purposes and activities.<sup>35</sup> The court made it plain that it was not ruling against oaths for public employees as such. Among cases cited was its 1951 decision upholding a Los Angeles ordinance requiring all city employees to swear they did not advocate or belong to organizations advocating unlawful overthrow of the government.<sup>36</sup> In that instance, knowledge of the nature of the organization was found to be "implicit in each clause of the oath." Another case referred to was the one upholding the Feinberg Law in which the Supreme Court expressly noted that in that law proscribed membership was only *prima facie*, not conclusive, evidence of disqualification.

In the decisions regarding teacher loyalty laws several points stand out:

1. Requiring loyalty of teachers is within the state's power. "A teacher works in a sensitive area in a schoolroom. There he shapes the attitude of young minds toward the society in which they live. In this, the state has a vital concern. It must preserve the integrity of the schools."<sup>37</sup>
2. "That the school authorities have the right and the duty to screen the officials, teachers, and employees as to their fitness to maintain the integrity of the schools as a part of ordered society, cannot be doubted."<sup>38</sup>
3. "One's associates, past and present, as well as one's conduct, may properly be considered in determining fitness and loyalty."<sup>39</sup>
4. "Past conduct may well relate to present fitness, past loyalty may have a reasonable relationship to present and future trust. Both are commonly inquired into in determining fitness for both high and low positions in private industry and are not less relevant in public employment."<sup>40</sup>
5. Loyalty oaths as such are not unconstitutional.
6. To bar a person by the tool of an oath or otherwise because of past membership in an organization requires proof that he knew the purposes of the organization during the time he belonged.

It should be noted that dissenting opinions were registered in the New York and Los Angeles cases, which were six to three and five to four decisions, respectively. Justice Douglas in his dissent in

<sup>35</sup> *Wickman v. Updegraff*, 344 U.S. 183 (1952).

<sup>36</sup> *Garner v. Board of Public Works of Los Angeles*, 341 U.S. 716 (1951).

<sup>37</sup> *Adler v. Board of Education of the City of New York*, *supra*.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Garner v. Board of Public Works of Los Angeles*, *supra*.

been many examples of actions taken by lay citizens to defend teachers' freedom and to oppose unwarranted restraints. The number of groups coming to the aid of the schools has been increasing steadily. Such groups have one or both of the following purposes: (1) actively opposing restrictive measures, directly answering unfounded charges, and exposing the ulterior motives of many of the attackers of public educators; and (2) involving large numbers of citizens in working constructively with boards of education and school personnel constantly to improve the schools.

Tenure laws have contributed greatly to the advancement of academic freedom by preventing arbitrary dismissals. Professional associations have done much to educate both teachers and laymen regarding academic freedom. Many associations of teachers have special committees working in this sphere. The National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education of the National Education Association and similar groups of some state education associations have helped through investigations of situations involving alleged violations of fair practice by boards of education. The national group and some of the state ones issue printed reports on their investigations, the distribution of which benefits academic freedom far beyond the localities involved. Such bodies of educators also defend unjustly attacked individuals and educational policies.

Another positive element is the steady improvement over the years in the preparation and competency of the average teacher. Well-trained teachers, operating as responsible members of a true profession, form the best answer to threats to academic freedom. By winning the respect and trust of the public they serve, sooner or later they will be granted the freedom they warrant to carry out their functions. Moreover, as an immediate consideration, such teachers are less likely to succumb to pressures of the hour and to subvert their calling by ceasing to teach according to the best of their ability, training, and conscience.

The preservation of academic freedom is both a public and a professional problem. That no quick and easy solution is available is apparent not only from what has been presented in this chapter but also from a look at almost any phase of our national existence. It is not an exaggeration to say that it is almost impossible to find a newspaper in which no mention of loyalty or "subversion" appears. Teacher loyalty forms only part of the complex "subversive" activi-

ties picture. Included also are myriad situations of all kinds, involving individuals and groups in such diverse callings as labor leaders, entertainers, publishers, public employees, lawyers, writers, physicians, and clergymen. Here, indeed, is an opportunity for educators to be of real service by demonstrating in this critical time their ability to handle the problem of alleged subversion in their own field without weakening traditional freedoms, and thereby to become an example for the country as a whole.

#### RELATED READINGS

- Annual Reports of the Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom*. Washington: National Education Association, 1949-1953.
- Forces Affecting American Education*. Washington: National Education Association, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1953 Yearbook, Chapter 3.
- Reutter, E. Edmund, Jr., *The School Administrator and Subversive Activities*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951.
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## —13— RETIREMENT

No aspect of teacher personnel policy has been more subject to legislative action since 1940 than has retirement legislation. During the decade of the 1940's, over half of the states either enacted new laws covering teacher retirement or radically revised existing laws. It may also be said that no element of a good staff personnel program has been accepted more completely than has the principle of providing some income for superannuated teachers not in service. In all 48 states, as of 1946, statewide retirement provisions could be found.

The language of the various laws differs, and terminology is not standardized. Technically, however, a "pension" plan is financed entirely by the employer (in the case of teachers, by public funds) whereas a "joint-contributory" plan is financed in part by the employee and in part by the employer. A *retirement allowance* consists of two parts—an annuity based on the money the member has invested in the system and a *pension* based on the contributions of the employer. Although pensions for teachers historically preceded retirement provisions, they have been supplanted, except in a few local districts and in Delaware and New Mexico.<sup>1</sup>

pose of assuring members that a sum of money would be paid to their estates upon their deaths. Such voluntary mutual-aid societies were formed in several large cities during the next few decades. Benefits of such associations were extended to include those for sickness and, eventually, for separation from service due to disability or superannuation. Younger teachers, however, in general were not very enthusiastic about the plans, and the arrangements were financially unsound.

It was not until 1894 that the legislature of New York enacted for New York City a bill which, because it touched upon the idea of public support, became a landmark in teacher retirement. The source of funds was to be deductions from the pay of absent teachers, but no provisions were made to assess the salaries of teachers who did not miss work nor to use state or local funds in the program. Pensions of one-half the final salary, not to exceed \$1,000, could be granted to incapacitated male teachers after thirty-five years of service and female teachers after thirty years. Despite the inadequacy and financial unsoundness of this plan, it soon was copied by other cities.

New Jersey is credited with establishing the first statewide system in 1896. The state administered the plan, and contributions and benefits were related to the teacher's salary. During the next few years there was a rather rapid growth of retirement plans in large cities, but little action on the state level took place until after 1910. In the subsequent three decades the movement grew, though often the plans adopted were not on a very sound basis, particularly during the early years. Many otherwise intelligent persons failed to see that benefits had to bear a relation to contributions. Guarantees of retirement stipends often were made which could not possibly be achieved under the methods of financing used. In almost all instances of bankrupt systems naiveté or stupidity, not dishonesty, were to blame. Such failures, however, made worse the plight of aged teachers who had been relying on some financial help after ceasing work and who in many instances had invested considerable sums which were wiped out when a system collapsed.

Leadership in improving retirement systems came from two principal organizations: the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the National Education Association. Much research and study were devoted to the problem and firm bases for retire-

ment programs were developed. Most of the existing systems were reappraised and amended, and new ones were enacted in many states. By 1937 state laws for teacher retirement existed in 28 states. Local systems remained numerous, although a number had been merged with state systems. Approximately 65 per cent of teachers were covered by some sort of post-service provision. Financial backing, however, was still shaky in several of the systems then existing. By this time the acceptance of the retirement principle for teachers was becoming less and less the main problem, and more and more concern was given to the inadequacy of the stipends provided. An impetus was received from the passage of the Federal Social Security Act in 1935. Although this law did not apply to teachers, the philosophy of the government's assuming a role in providing income for the aged was persuasive.<sup>3</sup> During the years 1937 to 1946, 20 states enacted teacher retirement laws, thereby extending the old-age coverage of teachers to include all 48 states. Also since the late Thirties a number of other states have substantially revised and strengthened their systems. Some systems still are very inadequate, and relatively few are organized to include all of the best thinking on the subject. The current activity in the area of legislation pertaining to teacher retirement is encouraging to the extent that it is well directed, which fortunately is the case in most instances. As the 1950's got under way a significant issue on which there is a marked division within the profession loomed on the horizon for teacher retirement; that issue, discussed later at length, is the relation of federal Social Security to teacher retirement. Now that the federal act has been amended (as of 1950) to make it legally possible for teachers to come under it, the question no longer is an academic one. By the early 1950's, local retirement systems largely had given way to state plans except in large cities. In 1953 the National Education Association listed only 40 joint-contributory local ones, although no claim was made that the list was exhaustive. It can be assumed that the few local plans not listed are operated by small districts largely to supplement state benefits. Typically, a member of a local system does not belong to the state system, and in the

very large cities the local systems have more members than some state ones. In giving a national picture in this chapter, attention is focused on state plans. Local plans follow essentially the same patterns described for state plans, and the various issues presented pertain to teacher retirement systems in general, whether they be state or locally operated.

### COVERAGE

All public school teachers now are eligible for participation in a retirement system. Not every teacher belongs, however, because usually when retirement laws were enacted, those already in service were given the option of joining or not. The chief reason for this feature is that forced participation in a joint-contributory system might work great hardship on older teachers who had been making other investments and plans for their old age at the time the law was enacted. If they suddenly were required to put part of their salaries into the retirement plan, their other arrangements might falter from lack of funds. In addition, their prospective benefits in relation to money invested at an advanced age might be far less from the retirement system than would accrue from adding the equivalent of their contributions to private plans in which they had made substantial investments over the years.

Compulsory membership for teachers employed after the enactment of a retirement law is a generally accepted principle. Such teachers can make their personal financial arrangements in the light of the retirement plan. Also, if membership is not compulsory, some of the main arguments for the existence of such plans are virtually demolished. A teacher whose effectiveness had diminished due to age or disability might not be appropriately removed from the schools. Either he might be retained to the detriment of the educational program so that he could support himself, or he might be separated from service to become a recipient of charity, which would mark a sad ending to a career of teaching. Moreover, unless all new teachers join, it is difficult to make the system financially stable on the basis of actuarial computations, which become more nearly accurate as the population affected is increased. An additional factor is that retirement benefits depend on amounts of money invested, and if young teachers were not obliged to contrib-

ute during their relative youth. their old age benefits would be reduced.

All of the retirement laws cover the instructional staff (teachers, supervisors, and principals) and local superintendents. Most include some other school personnel, such as school librarians, secretaries, and clerks. Approximately half protect certain custodial personnel, and about a quarter include public employees in general. Staff members of public colleges and of the state department of education are usually eligible to belong to the state retirement systems covering public school personnel.

### FINANCING

All but two of the state and a few local retirement systems are financed jointly by participants and public funds. These joint-contributory retirement plans vary in details, but they contain common elements that can be analyzed in a general way. The specifics of financing, although they are of grave concern to all teachers, are beyond the scope of most. This statement is not intended to disparage the average teacher, but rather it is to emphasize the complexities that exist within the broad outlines of policy. Those trained in education can and must understand the issues and take considered stands on policy. Those with actuarial competence should be the ones to handle the important details. To urge the increase of benefits or changes in method of finance without actuarial advice on how to do so soundly is fatuous. Two untechnical illustrations are pertinent. There has been much concern over the plight of teachers retired before and during the recent period of marked inflation. Higher cost of living has made retirement dollars buy far less than was contemplated, and pressure to increase retirement allowances has come from many sources. Often forgotten is the fact that if reserves are so used, the system is knocked askew. The only safe way to increase allowances of those already retired is through funds entirely separate from those of the retirement system. This is not only a factual statement, but also a humanitarian one in the broad sense, for it takes into account the welfare of the hundreds of thousands of teachers whose futures often are inextricably connected with the retirement system. Sound ways of ameliorating the situation of those already retired are discussed later. Another example

of shaky reasoning is to be found in proposals to make it possible for teachers to retire earlier in life with the same benefits. This is perhaps a laudable idea, but rarely considered is the fact that such a change would result in greatly increased costs both to the teacher and the state. The point illustrated bears repetition: retirement policies must be recognized as a concern of all teachers, young as well as older, but technicalities of detail and execution properly are within the competence of trained actuaries.

#### SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR MEMBERSHIP SERVICE

Funds to support retirement plans come from public monies and contributions of member teachers. The public funds are derived principally from three sources: general revenues, partly earmarked revenues, and special taxes. These in turn may be raised by the state, by the local communities, or by a combination of the two. General revenues comprise the usual source. In over half of the states the funds are obtained from the state alone, and in about a fifth local sources pay all. Sometimes the local districts pay indirectly by having some of their state aid withheld for this purpose. Local retirement systems, as would be expected, are primarily supported locally.

Public funds may be contributed by two general methods, cash disbursement or reserve, and the states are about equally divided between the two systems. A cash disbursement system is one in which each year or each two years the state legislature appropriates the amount of money needed to pay the state's share of benefits due to teachers already retired. Under a reserve system the state contributes during the period of service of the teacher, in order to build up a fund prior to the member's retirement. This fund is held in reserve for use in paying the state's share of the retirement allowance when the teacher retires. Connecticut and Minnesota have partial reserve plans, providing for the appropriation by the state of the reserves necessary for those retiring at the time their retired status begins.

Most students of retirement favor reserve systems. Such plans are much sounder than cash disbursement ones. If a depression were to strike and state revenues were to be reduced, under the latter plan there might not be sufficient funds available in a given year to meet

commitments to retired teachers. Under a reserve basis anticipated retirement income can almost be assured recipients. Unless a teacher can rely on a certain income after his days of active service, his future security lies under a cloud. Security is always relative, of course, but cash disbursement systems unnecessarily jeopardize it.

The funds from teachers' contributions toward retirement allowances usually represent a percentage of salary. This percentage either may be fixed or may depend on an actuarial calculation designed to achieve a specified goal, such as a retirement allowance equal to half salary. Where fixed, as is most commonly true, the percentage varied in 1950 from 2 per cent in Wyoming to 6 per cent in Wisconsin. In some states there is a salary maximum on which contributions are based; for example, 5 per cent with a salary ceiling of \$4,600 in Nevada.

The financing of retirement plans may be classified in still another way. They can be essentially "fixed benefit" plans, "money purchase" plans, or a combination of these. A fixed benefit arrangement provides that upon retirement the teacher will receive annually a specified amount of money, stipulated either as a flat sum or as a percentage of average salary over a definite period. His contributions are applied to the general fund, but his retirement allowance is fixed. Under a money purchase plan, the retirant receives an annuity based on the actuarial value of his contributions to the system and a *pension* based on the actuarial value of public contributions in his name. If the system is on a "matching" basis, the annuity and the pension will be equal. Such a plan is sometimes called a "money-doubled" one. The third, or combination, plan provides that the annuity be actuarially determined, while the pension be a fixed amount. (See Table 8.)

It is extremely difficult to put a fixed benefit plan on a reserve basis because future cost of such a plan cannot easily be anticipated. Many teachers favor fixed benefits despite this handicap. One reason advanced is that there is more security in fixed benefit plans, because presumably they will not be affected by economic changes, as will money purchase plans. This line of reasoning is valid only so long as the state remains willing and able to pay the stipulated benefit. Furthermore, the fact that the financial burden in such a plan often is greater on the state than on him is appealing to the member. A fact that is sometimes forgotten is that fixed bene-

TABLE 8

BASIC FORMULAS FOR NORMAL RETIREMENT ALLOWANCES IN 1950\*

<i>Fixed benefit total allowance</i>	<i>Pension equal to annuity</i>	<i>Fixed benefit pension plus annuity</i>
Arkansas	Alabama	Arizona
California	Georgia	Florida
Colorado	Minnesota	Idaho
Connecticut	Mississippi	Kansas
Delaware	North Carolina	Maine
Illinois	Ohio	Maryland
Indiana	Oklahoma	Michigan
Iowa	Oregon	Montana
Kentucky	South Carolina	Nebraska
Louisiana	South Dakota	New Jersey
Massachusetts	Tennessee	New York
Missouri	Texas	Pennsylvania
Nevada	Utah	Vermont
New Hampshire	West Virginia	Virginia
New Mexico		Washington
North Dakota		Wisconsin
Rhode Island		
Wyoming		

\* Based on *Public School Retirement at the Half Century*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, December, 1950), p. 127.

fits for those not yet retired can be lowered in adverse times more easily than soundly administered money purchase plans. Another reason why teachers sometimes favor fixed benefits is that they are expressed in concrete figures, rather than in variables which are dependent on actuarial calculations, and thus are simple to comprehend.

Although the costs brought about by such factors as lower interest rates and increased longevity are borne by the public in fixed benefit plans, they are borne by the member in pure money purchase plans. In the latter plans there is a lower allowance available from the member's contributions and also from the state's contributions in his behalf. Equity would require that such costs be jointly borne, which would be best met by the combination plan, whereby the state guarantees a fixed benefit and the member's contributions provide an allowance actuarially determined. But it must be repeated that any fixed benefit arrangement has disadvantages as well as advantages.

#### SERVICE IN THE STATE PRIOR TO ENACTMENT OF THE RETIREMENT LAW

A problem of particular significance to older teachers involves provisions for credit for service prior to the enactment of the retirement law. This factor also would operate to a degree every time changes were made in a retirement law. Almost all state retirement plans allow for some credit for prior service. Some laws give benefits for prior service substantially equal to those for membership service, with the state bearing the total expense for the period prior to enactment of the statute. This arrangement would mean that the pension for prior service would be twice the pension for membership service, there being no annuity for the prior service period. Georgia grants for prior service one and one-half times the allowance which would have been obtainable had the retirement system been in operation. The effect of such a stipulation is to give an advantage to older teachers, who would complete most of their service at relatively low salaries.

Several laws give pensions for prior service equal to pensions for membership service. In this case, unless provision is made for teachers to make contributions for an annuity based on prior service equal to the pension for prior service, the result is that the part of their retirement allowance based on prior service is half of what it would have been had the retirement law been in force. Even if "buying-up" credit for past service is permitted, few teachers have the cash to do so. In a few states prior service pensions are totally unrelated to membership pensions. For instance, in 1950 Oregon had a law granting a prior service pension of \$30 annually during retirement for each year up to twenty years.

#### SERVICE OUTSIDE THE STATE

There is wide variation among the provisions for credit for service outside of the state. Half of the states make no provision for crediting out-of-state service toward retirement. In the other half one or both of two general conditions control the situation: (1) dates of out-of-state service in relation to enactment or amendment of the state's retirement law, and (2) number of years served in the state granting the retirement allowance. As examples, in Montana ten

years of out-of-state service may be credited if the service was rendered in the other state prior to the enactment of the Montana law; in Minnesota all out-of-state service may be credited for a teacher who serves fifteen years in the state; in Maine a teacher may be credited for ten years' out-of-state service if he has served twenty years in the state; in New York ten years of out-of-state service may be credited regardless of date or time served in the state. When out-of-state service may be counted, the general procedure is for the teacher to pay into the retirement system of the state he is entering a sum equal to what his contribution would have been had he been in service in the new state during those years. This sum may be paid in a lump, over a fixed period, or by an increased rate of contribution until the proper amount has been paid. The receiving state usually does not make contributions to supplement member contributions, although Minnesota and New Jersey do so.

## BENEFITS

### ELIGIBILITY FOR NORMAL RETIREMENT

Qualifications for nondisability benefits under retirement laws are based on years of service, age, or a combination of the two factors. In many systems there are alternate ways in which minimum requirements for retirement may be met. Two points should be emphasized in relation to this section. First, *minimum* qualifications are being treated; thus, generally members are not compelled to retire when they meet these requirements. Second, the relation between benefits and time of retirement should be kept in mind; to be eligible for a retirement allowance is quite different from being eligible for the *maximum* allowance.

In slightly more than half of the states it is possible to retire on years of service regardless of age. The length of the period of service ranges from twenty years in Massachusetts to thirty-six in Ohio. In some states which provide retirement on a basis of service alone, there are minimum ages at which payments begin; for example, Texas permits retirement after twenty-five years of service with payments beginning at age sixty. A member may retire on a basis of age alone in about half of the states. Such ages vary from fifty-five in Massachusetts and Minnesota to seventy in New York. Almost

half of the states provide for one or more combinations of age and service as minimum requirements. Such standards include age sixty with twenty years of service in Nevada, age sixty-two with ten years of service in Pennsylvania, age fifty-five with thirty years of service in Utah, and age fifty with twenty-five years of service in Florida.

#### COMPULSORY RETIREMENT PROVISIONS

In most retirement plans there are provisions for compulsory retirements as well as for voluntary retirement. Such provisions based on age are found in about two-thirds of the states. In a few of these states there are also provisions for extension, so that in effect the so-called compulsory ages in these states are not really compulsory. Where extensions beyond the prescribed maximum age are permitted, disposition of individual cases usually is left to the discretion of the local school board, although occasionally the state board of education or the retirement board must approve. After a member reaches the minimum retirement age in a few states, the employing board can apply for retirement for the member. The ages specified for compulsory retirement vary from sixty-five in several states to seventy-two in Arkansas, with seventy the most common. The pros and cons of compulsory retirement are discussed in a subsequent section.

#### RETIREMENT ALLOWANCES ACTUALLY PAID FOR NORMAL RETIREMENT

The average monthly allowance for normal retirement paid through teacher retirement systems during the year 1951-52 was \$96.54. The figure for state systems was \$92.29 (See Table 9), and for local plans, \$112.16.\* In 1949-50 the national average had been \$84.50 per month. The spurt to the present figure occurred in the school year 1950-51, with no appreciable change in 1951-52.

Again it must be emphasized that these are average figures, subject to the general difficulties of interpretation of averages. Also,

\* 1951-52 *Statistics of Teacher Retirement Systems* (Washington: National Education Association Research Division and National Council on Teacher Retirement, 1953), p. 8.

TABLE 9

MONTHLY TEACHER RETIREMENT ALLOWANCES PAID BY STATE SYSTEMS  
IN 1951-52<sup>a</sup>

<i>State</i>	<i>Average normal retirement allowance<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Average normal retirement allowance<sup>b</sup></i>
Alabama	\$ 47.45	Nebraska	\$ 30.34
Arizona	61.02	Nevada	No Report
Arkansas	43.11	New Hampshire	65.20
California	No Report	New Jersey	136.42
Colorado	37.83 <sup>c</sup>	New Mexico	112.84
Connecticut	119.76 <sup>d</sup>	New York	98.95
Delaware	No Report	North Carolina <sup>e</sup>	46.39
Florida	99.00	North Dakota	55.90
Georgia	80.00	Ohio	95.00
Idaho	56.15	Oklahoma	47.42
Illinois	78.79	Oregon <sup>c</sup>	51.58
Indiana	111.00	Pennsylvania	104.00
Iowa	No Report	Rhode Island <sup>c</sup>	107.58
Kansas	No Report	South Carolina <sup>c</sup>	47.56
Kentucky	42.38	South Dakota	No Report <sup>h</sup>
Louisiana	107.00	Tennessee	63.48
Maine <sup>c</sup>	No Report	Texas	110.00 <sup>i</sup>
Maryland	76.09 <sup>i</sup>	Utah	65.67
Massachusetts	No Report	Vermont	70.16
Michigan	99.60	Virginia	No Report <sup>c</sup>
Minnesota	73.00	Washington	96.62
Mississippi	24.74 <sup>c</sup>	West Virginia	52.76
Missouri	43.50	Wisconsin	No Report
Montana	69.65	Wyoming	46.11

<sup>a</sup> Source: 1951-52 *Statistics of Teacher Retirement Systems* (Washington: National Education Association Research Division, and National Council on Teacher Retirement, 1953), p. 24.

<sup>b</sup> The figures here take no account of basis of retirement (such as age, years of service) except that disability retirement figures are not included.

<sup>c</sup> Difference between calculated retirement allowance, as here reported, and \$75 a month is guaranteed by the state to retired teachers with 20 years or more of Colorado service at age 65.

<sup>d</sup> Does not include \$30 a month additional payment paid to all teachers who retired before October 1, 1943.

<sup>e</sup> Membership includes nonschool public employees.

<sup>f</sup> Includes survivors drawing benefits as beneficiaries of deceased reentrants.

<sup>g</sup> Law changed in 1952 to integrate with Federal Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance.

<sup>h</sup> State retirement law for teachers repealed in 1951; teachers placed under Social Security.

they do not take into account the conditions under which normal retirement was begun, that is, whether on a basis of minimum qualifications, compulsory age, or other factor. Under most laws a teacher's retirement allowance would increase the longer he remained in service. Under fixed benefit formulas based on a percentage of salary (final salary, average salary over a fixed period immediately prior to retirement, or average salary over a fixed period when salary was highest) multiplied by years of service, the teacher's annual retirement allowance clearly would increase as the years of service increased, except where a ceiling is placed on retirement allowances. Under money purchase arrangements longer service would also tend to increase annual allowances, in the absence of a maximum, due to the accumulation of larger individual reserve, although the increase would not be as easily calculated as in the fixed benefit plans.

Since the figures given include all living retirants, improvements in benefits in recent years do not show up because many of the retirants are receiving their allowances under older systems providing lower allowances. Also, many of these now retired made only small contributions to the system because they were advanced in years when the system was established, and thus their allowances are derived primarily from state funds for prior service and would be expected to be lower than allowances for future retirants. Moreover, because salaries were so much lower in the pre-World War II period, benefits based on such salaries would be low relative to today's salaries. In addition, no account is taken of the fact that a retirant usually has a choice of optional ways of receiving his benefits. For example, if he selects an option to cover a beneficiary whose life expectancy is longer than his, his monthly allotment would be less than if he were covering only himself.

These considerations should be kept in mind in evaluating Table 9. It should also be remembered that in several states the larger cities, usually paying higher average salaries than the rest of the state, have separate retirement plans; therefore allowances for their teachers, which would tend to raise the state average, are not included. Perhaps the most striking feature of Table 9 is the wide range in retirement benefits among the states. A ratio of approximately five to one exists between the top and bottom states. It must

be re-emphasized, however, that liberal benefits are not the only criterion of a good retirement system. Indeed, benefits paid rank far behind financial soundness as a standard of evaluation. Relatively generous benefits inadequately financed are analogous to a bubble that may burst at any time.

#### DISABILITY RETIREMENT

Except for Iowa,<sup>5</sup> all state systems of retirement have some arrangements for permanent disability allowances, but only a few provide for temporary disability. A small number have special benefits for disability incurred in line of duty. In some systems the disability allowance is calculated in the same way as the normal retirement allowance, and in others an entirely different basis is used. Although there are wide variations among the plans, usually ten to fifteen years of service are required to establish eligibility for a disability retirement allowance. During 1951-52 the national average monthly allowance paid for disability retirement was \$67.18.<sup>6</sup>

#### SURVIVORS' BENEFITS

If a member dies while in active service, the typical retirement law provides that the member's contributions plus interest be paid to his beneficiaries. Under this arrangement the contributions of the state toward his retirement allowance revert to the state, and the deceased's survivors are in the same situation as if he had put his money in a bank or in other investments rather than in the retirement plan. In other words, neither he nor his family would profit much from the existence of a retirement system. In a few states partial interest or no interest is paid, so that if a member dies before retirement his estate actually may suffer from his having been a member rather than investing his money elsewhere. Some systems do provide a lump sum death benefit, and a small number provide for benefits in the form of monthly allowances for survivors.

<sup>5</sup> Iowa's retirement system prior to 1953 was the only state system to be patterned after federal old-age and survivors' insurance. In 1953 it was replaced by a combination of federal social security and a supplemental retirement plan.

<sup>6</sup> 1951-52 *Statistics of Teacher Retirement Systems*, p. 8.

If a member dies after he has retired, benefits to his survivors depend generally on the retirement option he has chosen. In almost all systems it is possible for a retirant to choose a form of retirement allowance providing benefits to his survivors. Selection of this type of option, however, would mean reduced allowances during the retired life of the member so that the total paid from the retirement fund in his behalf would not exceed his entitlement. Generally the survivors' part can be paid as a lump sum or a monthly allowance on the decision of the retirant or his beneficiaries.

#### MEMBERS WITHDRAWING BEFORE ELIGIBLE FOR RETIREMENT

When a teacher ceases to teach in a given state, his rights under the retirement law differ widely. The most common stipulation is that the member may secure a refund on his contributions plus interest. The interest may be at the full prevailing rate or it may be at a lesser rate. In some cases a fixed charge for withdrawal is deducted. No interest on refunds is paid in a few states, and in a couple of instances a member withdrawing after a relatively short period of service cannot even get all of his contributions back.

Slightly more than half of the states provide for deferred allowances under certain circumstances for those who have withdrawn from service before qualifying for retirement. Such allowances, payable at minimum retirement age, are based on the contributions of the member during his years of service, and usually also on the public contributions made in his behalf during his active period. Colorado, Kentucky, and West Virginia go as far as to allow former members to continue to contribute after their separation from service in order to supplement contributions made during their period of service. Provisions for deferred allowances long have been sought by those who wish to remove barriers against interstate migration of teachers. Unfortunately, little help on that score is forthcoming in many of the states which do afford such a privilege, because the number of years of service required to establish eligibility is so large. Nebraska has perhaps the most favorable provision in this respect: a deferred allowance payable at age sixty-five based on the contributions of the public as well as those of the member, with no qualifications regarding length of service or age at time of leaving service.

## RAISING RETIREMENT ALLOWANCES

In many instances, the allowances payable to retired teachers are very inadequate. Several circumstances have led to this situation. First, a number of retirement systems, primarily older ones, were not set up to provide sufficient income for retirants. Instead of immediately urging liberal laws, or even adequate laws, many supporters of retirement plans at first wanted to get the idea of retirement for teachers accepted. They felt that the goal of a good retirement law could be reached more easily by gradual amendments and liberalization. Some teachers objected to assessments on their salaries for retirement and preferred to look after their problems of old age individually. Such teachers, in addition to those wishing most of the funds to come from public sources, often opposed the higher rates of contribution necessary for an adequate joint-contributory retirement plan. Also, there was a reluctance among legislators to liberalize plans, since in many places teachers were among the few groups enjoying retirement privileges. Moreover, many took the view that the retirement allowance should provide only the bare essentials of life for the recipient. This philosophy underlay much of the thinking relative to federal social security benefits, especially during the depression years.

Regardless of the reasons, average retirement allowances to teachers never have been far above subsistence level. With the inflationary period during and after World War II, these modest dollar allowances in a great many instances became woefully insufficient in terms of purchasing power. In many places the state or local legislative bodies have attempted to remedy the situation with varying degrees of success; in other areas no response to inflation has been forthcoming, with dire consequences to thousands of retired teachers. Teachers who could remain active while the inflationary spiral was rising could take advantage of higher salaries to boost their retirement allowances. From the teacher's point of view, fixed benefit systems based on a percentage of final or highest average salary have best kept pace with inflation for those teachers who did not retire until the late 1940's or early 1950's.

There has been a considerable amount of sentiment in favor of increasing allowances in the light of decreased dollar values for teachers already retired and particularly for those retired before

initiative as is feasible. In general, however, only the very large districts have enough employees to sustain an actuarially sound retirement plan without excessive costs both to the public and the participants. Moreover, the existence of numerous local retirement plans within a state tends to handicap the strengthening of the state system, because those teachers having local protection are less interested in the state plan and the citizens of localities financing local plans cannot be expected to support enthusiastically better state plans, which would call for more public funds.

There are differences between locally setting up a supplementary retirement system and locally augmenting retirement allowances of retired teachers to compensate for the effects of inflation. Georgia is one state which has enacted legislation expressly authorizing local boards to supplement state retirement allowances. In some places teachers, through their associations, have made voluntary contributions to aid retired colleagues. Although such action is commendable, the necessity for it is deplorable.

#### RELATION OF RETIREMENT TO OTHER PERSONNEL POLICIES

Retirement provisions must be studied in the context of other prevailing personnel policies. Compensation perhaps is the most closely allied consideration. The point often is made that the public will support only a certain sum of money for paying teachers. Viewing the retirement allowance (at least the pension portion) as a sort of deferred salary, adherents of this concept maintain that drives to increase retirement allowances out of public funds militate against efforts to raise salaries to a more adequate level. They further hold that it would be better to concentrate on higher salaries, because psychologically it is somewhat frustrating to be awaiting the future reward of a retirement allowance while working at a lower salary. It is contended, moreover, that teachers should be able to take care of financing their declining years if they are paid sufficiently during their periods of active service, and that this opportunity should be afforded those who do not desire to participate in the retirement plan. Previously, however, it was pointed out that unless membership in the retirement plan is mandatory the system cannot function properly, and also that in such a case

being offered a position after he has profited from service in another state.<sup>11</sup> Either plan or a combination of them theoretically would solve the problem if adopted by all states. Practically, however, many complexities exist in addition to the task of convincing all the state legislatures. The Reciprocity Committee of the National Council on Teacher Retirement has cited some of them as follows:

1. The difference in length of time retirement systems have been in operation and their varying degrees of actuarial solvency.

2. The variety of employees covered in some systems, some are limited to professional employees while others are open to all school employees, and a few cover public employees including nonschool personnel.

3. The differences in rates of contributions and the dollar value of the members' contributions in purchasing the retirement benefit.

4. The differences in the rate of guaranteed interest on members' contributions.

5. The different bases and methods used in determining the retirement allowance.

6. The variety of trends in the migration of teachers among states. The predominant movement was thought to be into some states and out of others. In many states the movement out would not necessarily balance the movement in and the question of whether the receiving or losing state would pay the cost presented problems.<sup>12</sup>

One study indicated that in 1948 about 30 per cent of the public school teachers in the United States had taught in more than one state.<sup>13</sup> A wide variation among states was found. In one state two-thirds of the sampled group had served outside the state, and in another state only one-tenth had served elsewhere.

The National Council on Teacher Retirement has recommended, on the basis of its comprehensive study, that each state adopt the following plan:

1. An optional deferred benefit should be provided for members of publicly supported teacher retirement systems who terminate contributions after five or more years of credit for services rendered as members of the system.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See "Service Outside the State," p. 340.

<sup>12</sup> *How to Provide Reciprocity in Teacher Retirement* (Washington: National Education Association Research Division and National Council on Teacher Retirement, 1951), p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> *The Migration of Public School Teachers* (Washington: National Education Association, Research Division, 1949), p. 15.

<sup>14</sup> The Council has pointed out that this recommendation refers to a deferred allowance based on contributions of the public as well as of the individual. The recommendation is met completely by only one retirement system—that of Nebraska.

the workers were not in positions included in any public employee retirement system.

The 1950 amendment became law after almost all of the state legislatures had adjourned, so that 1951 was the first year in which state action could be taken. In that year thirty-five states passed social security enabling acts. These acts, authorizing state officials to execute social security compacts with the federal government for non-covered public employees, are in most cases so worded that if in the future the federal law should be extended to permit coverage of those already members of public employee retirement systems, this could be accomplished without a new state law. The situation was not surprising to students of the subject, because many state legislatures had requested Congress to include public employees under social security and even had passed laws placing public employees under social security when and if it should become available. What would happen to existing state retirement systems in the event coverage were extended in the future to public employees is not clear in most states.

The aforementioned enabling acts would not affect teachers unless either the federal law as of 1953 were changed or state teacher retirement laws were repealed. Although many bills concerning social security were introduced to Congress during 1951, 1952, and 1953, and benefits were raised in 1952, no action regarding coverage was taken. Several states during the period debated the repeal of retirement laws to place public employees under social security and three states had done so by the end of 1952. South Dakota repealed its teacher retirement system in 1951, and Mississippi and Virginia did so in 1952.

South Dakota provided that those already retired would continue to receive their allowances under the repealed law, but all others would be placed under federal old-age and survivors' insurance. Contributions of teachers not yet retired would be returned with interest; public contributions beyond those needed to pay off obligations to retired teachers would revert to the state. The repeal of the teacher retirement system in South Dakota was favored by the teachers, who voted five to one to ask the legislature to make the change. In that state, due to a weakness in the retirement law which, in effect, made membership voluntary, only about 15 per cent of the teachers belonged, and of this 15 per cent approxi-

mately 50 per cent were at least 45 years old and presumably would profit from the change to social security. Thus, on a basis of *either* state teacher retirement as it existed in South Dakota *or* federal social security, the decision was for the latter. But developments the following year in other states indicated that the choice between the two was specious—it was possible to have both and yet remain within the letter of the federal law.

Virginia and Mississippi adopted plans integrating a state retirement system with federal old-age and survivors' insurance. In essence the procedure was as follows: (1) the existing state retirement plan was repealed, (2) employees were placed under social security, (3) a supplementary retirement system was enacted. Both states protected the rights of those already retired under the repealed laws, and both made provision for prior service credit in the new supplementary state plans. Virginia gave credit for all service creditable in the abolished system provided members transferred their accumulated contributions from the old system to the new system within a year.<sup>16</sup> Mississippi did not mandate the transfer of accumulated funds in order to get prior service credit, but provided that such funds might be used to purchase a larger annuity. Mississippi also did not require that all members of the repealed system join the new supplementary one, whereas Virginia did. (All must join social security, according to the federally mandated state-federal compact provisions.) Virginia's plan contains the following guarantee:

The retirement allowance payable upon normal retirement to a former member of the abolished system who transferred his accumulated contributions to the new retirement system . . . and who has not withdrawn such contributions prior to retirement, shall be at least an amount which when added to the primary Social Security benefits to which the member may become entitled under the Federal Social Security Act in effect at his retirement date, would equal the service retirement allowance to which the member would have been entitled under the provisions of the abolished system if he had continued contributions at the amount in effect at the date of abolition of the Virginia Retirement System.<sup>17</sup>

Many students of retirement believe that the typical teacher in Virginia or Mississippi now has a better opportunity for retirement

<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, about a third of Virginia's teachers saw fit to withdraw their money and lose prior service credit.

<sup>17</sup> Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia of 1952, c. 157, sec. 51-29.47(d).

security than he had before the change. Mississippi had the lowest average retirement allowance figure in the nation. Virginia's old plan was not one of the best and the guarantee in the new law prevents any loss through the change. Yet, there are serious problems involved in integrating teacher retirement with social security, and doubts exist that such a path is generally to be recommended.

The National Education Association has provided the research and the leadership necessary to establish retirement systems for teachers in all of the states. On the basis of their study over the years, spokesmen for this organization are skeptical about the idea of social security for teachers. It was their belief in 1951 that all state teacher retirement plans were "actually or potentially better than the old (pre-1950) social security plans," and that even after the 1950 liberalization of benefits, the new law "still was not as good as the retirement plans covering a majority of teachers."<sup>18</sup> The NEA felt that "the states would not pay for both social security and their retirement programs. Integration of the two plans is not practical. The NEA Research Division has clearly shown that 'integration' either means the disintegration of the retirement systems, or greatly increased costs for members as well as the states or school districts."<sup>19</sup>

The National Education Association position was not unique. The Joint Committee of Public Employees Organizations had stood against extension of coverage to those public employees belonging to a state or local retirement system. Firemen and policemen, for whom the first public pension and retirement systems were established, have taken stands similar to that of the National Education Association. The American Federation of Teachers, on the other hand, has stood for social security for teachers as a minimal protection for old age, to be supplemented by state retirement systems. Actually the National Education Association and American Federation of Teachers do not vary so markedly as partisans for each have claimed. The pivotal point of difference seems to be a divergence in opinion as to whether in the future federal social security would supplement and therefore strengthen existing systems or would

<sup>18</sup>"Our Readers Write," *National Education Association Journal*, Vol. 40, p. 5, January, 1951. (A statement by the NEA Research Division explaining the NEA position.)

<sup>19</sup>"The New Social Security Law: Its Effect upon Teacher Retirement," *National Education Association Journal*, Vol. 39, p. 506, October, 1950.

weaken and eventually destroy existing systems. The American Federation of Teachers officially takes the former view; the National Education Association officially leans toward the latter view. Most teacher members of both probably have not studied the question sufficiently to have a considered opinion, and it should be emphasized that both positions are based to a considerable extent on conjecture. Perhaps the advisable solution differs among the states; the existing state teacher retirement systems vary from very good to very poor, and bases on which to venture guesses about future state legislative actions are not very similar among the states.

The following resolution on this subject, adopted by the Representative Assembly of the National Education Association in mid-1953, shows the results of intensive study and discussion conducted since the 1950 social security amendment.

The National Education Association believes that properly planned and adequately financed state and local retirement systems serve best the requirements of the teaching profession.

If these systems are to be supplemented by federal social security provisions, the enacted federal legislation and state laws should give unconditional assurance that the total retirement benefits will not be reduced below those now guaranteed by present law. Such supplementary legislation should be approved in advance by referendum by at least two-thirds of the active members of the existing state or local retirement system.

The two safeguards for integration—no reduction in benefits and a referendum on the question—are especially pertinent. They were approved and are being urged by the Joint Committee of Public Employees Organizations. Whether they can be incorporated into law, however, is uncertain. A federal law forbidding the states to amend or repeal their retirement laws almost certainly would be unconstitutional. Congress probably has the power to prevent the Federal Social Security Administration from entering into a state compact if these proposed conditions were not met, but problems of states' rights in the theoretical as well as the constitutional realms would not be eradicated by such action. Ultimately the key to the future of teacher retirement is held by the state legislatures, the bodies which originally established the retirement systems. They must be urged to weigh all the factors carefully before deciding what to do in regard to social security coverage for teachers.

Social security historically has had a different purpose from that

children under eighteen, dependent husband, or dependent parents, only burial expenses are payable and his estate receives nothing from his contributions. Moreover, there are restrictions on how much one may earn between sixty-five and seventy-five and yet receive social security payments. Thus, to get returns on his contributions and receive the benefits for himself and his family, one must refrain from supplementing the allowance beyond a point (\$75 a month in 1953) by work in a covered job. (If he worked at a job not covered by social security, his retirement allowance would be unimpaired regardless of the income he was earning.) Also federal old-age and survivors' insurance does not provide for retirement for disability, whereas some provision is made in all state retirement systems except one. Nor is provision made in the social security law for refunds for those leaving covered employment; in effect a compulsory deferred allowance payable at age sixty-five is substituted. A worker becomes fully insured for life after ten years of work in a covered position. Beyond that time he and his employer would have to continue to contribute but in general he would receive no increase in benefits, which are based on average monthly wage up to a ceiling of \$300 in monthly earnings. A person who "retires" at an age less than sixty-five not only would receive no allowance from social security until that age, but also at sixty-five would receive a lowered stipend because of a reduction in his average monthly wage over the years to age sixty-five.

There is urgent need for a comprehensive analysis within each state of the existing teacher retirement plan, and the teachers in the state should be given an opportunity to study and discuss possible actions regarding their retirement program in relation to the social security issue. Precipitant action must be carefully avoided, lest on one hand the hard work of many decades in establishing and steadily strengthening teacher retirement systems be wiped out, or on the other hand, an opportunity for possible improvement go unutilized. Teachers' associations and retirement boards should sponsor such studies. There are many factors that differ among states and that can be brought properly to light only through a detailed study. A few examples of statistics which should influence the decision in a given state are: number of instances where both husband and wife teach, number of cases where one spouse

teaches and the other works in some employment covered by old-age and survivors' insurance, number of teachers' children under eighteen years of age, number of unmarried teachers, ages of teachers, and, of course, current and potential benefits of the state retirement system. Such data must be studied intelligently and unemotionally. Clearly some teachers would gain considerably from inclusion now in social security. Just as clearly others would lose considerably. The proportion of teachers in each category and the degree of gain or loss must be determined before action is advocated. Also to be taken into account is the element of surmise as to probable future developments along any of the three main courses: strengthening the existing retirement system apart from the federal social security program; integration of the present system with social security; substitution of social security for the present system. In evaluating alternatives, benefits must not be considered alone, but in relation to costs.

Teachers literally cannot afford to be lethargic about the issue of retirement and social security. Circumstances are such that the decision is likely to be made for them without their advice by state and national legislators, and the decision now is a critical one which could augur well or ill for the future of superannuated teachers for decades to come.

### NONECONOMIC FACTORS RELATING TO RETIREMENT

Preparation for retirement involves more than providing financial security, though such assurance is a prime factor for a happy old age. The problem is one facing our entire nation as the number of aged and their relative proportion in the total population increases. (Estimates placed the number of retired teachers in 1952 at over 125,000.) Studies in psychology and sociology point out certain basic needs of retired persons unrelated to economic considerations. The act of retiring, if not properly anticipated, can be and often is a horrible experience rather than a normal process of life. A sudden break from the busy routine and associations of decades easily can result in impaired mental health. It behooves the teaching profession to give more attention to ways and means of readying its members for retirement and of giving them professional attention afterward.

The pros and cons of a compulsory retirement age were discussed earlier in this chapter, and a fixed age was accepted by the authors as the best plan, not so much because of its merits as because of the disadvantages of substitute plans. A compulsory retirement age makes it possible to plan for cessation of active service at a definite date. The individual teacher can prepare for that time well in advance, and he should be encouraged to do so. Hobbies and interests, always important from the point of view of mental health, are critical for the period of retirement. To be effective they must in most cases be cultivated well in advance. Inquiries should be made into possible job opportunities, both paid and unpaid, which might seem inviting to the individual. Information concerning climate and living expenses in different parts of the country might be examined.

These and related actions to help members adjust to retirement can be facilitated through work of teachers' associations. In fact, the services of already retired teachers can be used to help their colleagues in this matter.

The ability of retired teachers does not immediately cease at retirement age; nor does their interest in children. Their many years of experience do not become invalid when a certain birthday is passed. Retired teachers should continue to be considered members of the profession—elder-statesmen, as it were. Such a point of view prevents the profession from unnecessary loss of insight and concurrently satisfies the basic need of retired teachers to feel that they are still a part of the important enterprise to which they devoted most of their lives. Local school systems, as well as professional associations, have a responsibility here. Retired teachers, if they are physically and mentally able, may be used as consultants or may be engaged in connection with special projects. In times of teacher shortage, they may be used as substitutes.

Several associations of teachers have set up self-sustaining homes or apartment buildings for retired teachers. These are operated at cost and hence are economical for teachers who wish to take advantage of them. They also provide retired teachers a means for personal contacts with people they know and with whom they feel secure. Another promising development is the establishment of a National Retired Teachers Association to deal with subjects of special interest to retired teachers.

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## —14— PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

One of the most spectacular developments of the last century is the growth and strength of organizations and associations. Kenneth E. Boulding, in a treatise entitled *The Organizational Revolution*, sums up the situation as follows:

"In place of the sparse fauna of organizations of 1852 we now have what seems like a vast jungle. In the United States, 15,000,000 workers are organized into labor unions. At least half of the farmers are organized into three large farm organizations. Great corporations dominate many fields of industry. Every trade and every industry, almost without exception, has one or more trade associations. Every profession is organized with its professional associations. There are innumerable organizations representing special interest groups from Audubon societies to Zoroastrians . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Not only have organizations increased in number but they have developed much greater power and influence. Apparently workers today feel the need of banding together to secure certain satisfactions which formerly they obtained without organization. Students of the problem do not believe that the economic motive is either the sole driving force, or, in many cases, the most impelling one. They see organizations arising as a response to basic human needs. The desire for status, the need to belong and to feel secure; these have played a fundamental role in the development of associations.

### MEMBERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Perhaps the most noteworthy and certainly the best known professional organizations in America are the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association. These two associa-

<sup>1</sup> Kenneth E. Boulding, *The Organizational Revolution* (New York, Harpet and Brothers, 1953), p. 3.

tions exercise great influence on matters relating to the welfare and activities of their members.

A similar trend toward organization is observable in the teaching profession, although the latter has not yet reached the stage of maturity achieved by some of the older professions. The National Education Association, which is the largest teachers' organization in the United States, was formed in 1857 and now boasts a membership of approximately half a million. This is slightly over 50 per cent of the total number of public school teachers in the United States. Although it exerts a powerful influence on educational legislation and on school policies, it admittedly cannot yet speak for the profession as a whole to the same degree that the AMA can speak for medicine or the ABA for law. That the time is not far distant, however, when the vast majority of public school teachers will be affiliated with this national association of teachers seems probable from an analysis of membership statistics during the history of the organization. Table 10 shows the NEA membership by decades since the association was first organized.

TABLE 10  
NEA Membership 1857-1953\*

1857	43
1887	(figures missing)
1877	160
1897	9,115
1897	1,857
1907	5,044
1917	8,466
1927	181,350
1937	181,228
1947	356,643
1953	520,442

It will be observed that the increase in membership since 1917 has been phenomenal, except for the decade of the great depression (1930-1939). Although the problem growing out of the current teacher shortage crisis may have the effect of slowing down the present trend in membership growth, this shortage factor may be more than offset by the fact that teachers generally throughout the United States are becoming increasingly aware of the significance

\*NEA *Handbook for Local, State and National Associations, 1953-54* (Washington: National Education Association, 1953), p. 27.

of the activities and work of the NEA. Teacher welfare has always been a matter of major concern to the NEA, and since teachers in every section of the country have greatly benefited by the efforts of the association, it seems likely that relatively few will elect to remain outside this national association permanently.

The only other national teachers' organization of any size is the American Federation of Teachers.<sup>3</sup> It was founded in 1916 and has grown from an initial membership of 2,800 to a membership of approximately 65,000. Because of its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, it exercises much greater influence than its numerical size would indicate. The AFT has enlisted its membership chiefly, though by no means exclusively, from the large cities and industrial areas where labor strength is greatest. The number of locals reported in 1952 was approximately 400. Just how large this organization will grow to be is uncertain. Much depends upon the foresight and wisdom of school boards in establishing personnel policies. If boards of education and the communities they represent are slow in providing salaries and working conditions that are conducive to high level teaching performance, then a militant organization patterned after the labor union design is likely to win widespread support. In any event, some additional membership can be expected as the teaching profession expands.

To the degree that size is related to importance, the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession deserves consideration. This association, which has only recently been formed, hopes to bring teachers from all parts of the world together into one powerful organization, in order that the teaching profession may exert an influence more nearly in keeping with its social importance. In 1952, the total membership of the WCOTP was approximately 2,000,000.<sup>4</sup> Since the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, and the American Teachers Association (this latter association representing 13-

<sup>3</sup> Another national association of teachers which perhaps deserves mention, but which is in no way comparable to the two major associations just discussed, is the American Education Fellowship. This organization, prior to 1944, was known as the Progressive Education Association. Since 1944 it has been affiliated with the New Education Fellowship which has its headquarters in London. It has as its major objective "social reconstruction," and, although it has shown some interest in teacher welfare problems, it has focused its attention largely on education and society.

<sup>4</sup> See *NEA Handbook 1952-53*, p. 367ff.

614 Negro teachers from the South) are affiliated with this world organization, its future becomes a matter of great importance to the teaching profession in the United States. In this early phase of its history, the WCOTP is confronted with perplexing problems of organization. It seems destined, however, to extend its membership considerably during the next quarter century, if a major world conflict does not interfere.<sup>5</sup>

Without question the most popular teachers' organizations have been state associations. Nearly every teacher in the United States belongs to a state teachers' association.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the program and activities of these associations have been aimed directly at the improvement of teacher status and have led to many legislative reforms related to both teacher welfare and instruction. Until recently, many teachers have confined their support to local and state associations. One reason for this preference is that the closer to home an association is, the easier it is to judge the results of its program. A second reason is that greater pressure is brought to bear on teachers to join local and state associations than to join national associations. There are still many members of the teaching profession who join local and state associations almost wholly because of pressure to do so and not because they see clearly the advantages of belonging to a strong professional organization. Such members contribute little beyond their dues to the success of the program of the association. In short, there are still many immature teachers who cannot see beyond their immediate surroundings and have no understanding of the good to be derived from an organized and unified profession.

#### LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

Most public school systems in the United States large enough to employ twenty-five or more teachers have at least one teachers'

<sup>5</sup> The WCOTP was officially formed in July, 1952, at Copenhagen, Denmark, when a merger was effected between World Organization of the Teaching Profession and two other groups, the International Federation of Teachers Associations (elementary) and the Federation Internationale des Professeurs de l'Enseignement Secondaire Officiel (secondary). The WOTP was really the chief forerunner of the WCOTP. It was established in 1948 at Endicott, New York.

<sup>6</sup> On May 31, 1953, according to the *NEA Handbook, 1953-54*, the membership in affiliated state associations was 998,744.

association.<sup>7</sup> These local associations provide a basis for group action and constitute a significant social outlet for teachers. Although some local associations boast 100 per cent membership, the average reported for local associations generally, in a study made by the Research Division of the NEA in 1947, was approximately 75 per cent. Since, in all probability, the associations that participated in this study represent the more active and effective local teacher organizations in the United States, the membership for the country as a whole is undoubtedly somewhat below the 75 per cent just reported.

A phenomenon to be found which does not augur well for unity is the large number of teachers organizations within the same city school system in certain large cities. In New York City, for example, there are approximately 70 different associations. Fortunately this condition does not obtain generally.

#### HONORARY SOCIETIES

A discussion of teachers' organizations would not be complete without some mention of honorary societies, many of which have contributed to the improvement of the teaching profession. Perhaps the best-known societies are Phi Delta Kappa, a men's organization with approximately 60 active chapters and a membership of more than 40,000; Kappa Delta Pi, which admits both men and women and has a membership of more than 67,000 and 150 local chapters; and Pi Lambda Theta, a women's organization, which in 1950 had 39 active chapters and a membership of approximately 30,000.

The professed aims of these societies vary somewhat, but they all purport to encourage high professional and personal standards. Phi Delta Kappa encourages research and fosters programs of lectures, debates, and forums in the field of education. Kappa Delta Pi provides a lecture series and attempts to recognize outstanding contributions to education. Each year it offers a prize for the best research study produced in the field of education. The *Phi Delta Kappan*, the *Educational Forum*, and the *Pi Lambda Theta Journal*, the official publications of Phi Delta Kappa, Kappa Delta

Pi, and Pi Lambda Theta, respectively, have consistently carried articles on timely subjects in the field of education.

There are several other educational sororities and fraternities, many of which represent special fields such as physical education, home economics, or music. For the most part, their influence, although constructive, has not been as outstanding as that of the honorary societies just described.

The teaching profession in America, then, is in a state of transition as far as organization is concerned. There are two national groups which have considerable strength—the NEA, which seems likely to include in its membership the vast majority of classroom teachers, but whose enrollment has just recently passed the half-way mark; and the American Federation of Teachers, which, although much smaller, has shown considerable vitality and strength. State associations now enroll nearly all classroom teachers within their respective commonwealths. Their future lies in developing more effective programs, in providing greater leadership, and in enlisting wider participation and support from individual members than has hitherto been achieved. Because of the dominant role played by the state in our governmental structure, there seems to be every reason for believing that state teachers' associations will continue to flourish and will, in the future as in the past, exercise a powerful influence on state legislatures in matters bearing on teacher welfare. Local teachers' associations, which are likely to appeal to individual teachers because they are close at hand, seem destined to thrive and to fulfill a recognized need. Honorary societies are contributing to the improvement of professional standards and, in a limited way, will undoubtedly continue to influence the thinking and behavior of teachers.

### THE WORLD CONFEDERATION OF ORGANIZATIONS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION

An adequate discussion of the activities and programs of teachers' associations in America would require more space than can be devoted here to the topic. Publications and reports of the various national and state associations contain full descriptions of their work and activities, and the reader is referred to these for a more detailed account than is attempted here.

Perhaps the logical place to begin a discussion of organization and program is with the recently formed WCOTP. Since American teachers, through both the large national associations (the NEA and the AFT), are directly affiliated with this world confederation, some analysis of its organization, purposes, and activities can appropriately be examined before any attempt is made to assess the work of national, state, or local associations in the United States.

The WCOTP included in its membership in 1953 teachers organizations from 37 different countries or governmental units. The Confederation has a president, a vice-president, a secretary general, and an executive committee consisting of nine members. Policies are determined by a delegate assembly which meets once a year. The number of delegates eligible to attend and vote at the Assembly is determined on a quota basis, depending on membership. Voting privileges are also established on the basis of size with a maximum limitation fixed by the Constitution.

The professed aims of the WCOTP are:

(1) To foster a conception of education directed toward the promotion of international understanding and good will, with a view to safeguarding peace and freedom and respect for human dignity;

(2) To improve teaching methods, educational organization and the academic and professional training of teachers so as to equip them better to serve the interests of youth;

(3) To defend the rights and the material and moral interests of the teaching profession;

(4) To promote closer relationships between teachers in the different countries.\*

The international character of the organization and the large number of countries represented has made communication difficult and has presented certain obstacles to the development of a meaningful program. However, despite this handicap, significant steps have been taken toward the realization of the organization's objectives. Some appreciation of the areas of interest thus far manifest can be gained by examining the topics considered at the annual meetings of the WOTP, from which the present world organization (WCOTP) sprang. Among these are the following:

International Language

Interchange of pupils and teachers

\*NEA Handbook 1952-1953, p. 366.

## ORGANIZATION OF THE AFT

The AFT is primarily an organization of public school classroom teachers. It is made up of approximately 400 locals and is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. A local consists of a self-governing group of seven or more teachers in a given locality under the employ of a board of education, board of trustees or governmental agency. Locals are almost completely autonomous (although their charters may be revoked by the AFT); they adopt their own constitution and fix the responsibilities for their own officers. They send delegates to the national convention, which meets once a year.

The Federation formulates the policies and rules governing the national organization at its annual convention. Between conventions the National Executive Council, consisting of the president, secretary-treasurer, and fifteen vice-presidents representing every section of the country, carries out the policies established by the annual convention.

Local federations of teachers are also encouraged to affiliate with state federations and with local central labor bodies, where the latter exist.

PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES OF  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

The programs of teachers' organizations are constantly undergoing change, and any attempt to assess them is subject to several limitations. In fact, it is probable that a completely unbiased point of view regarding the program and accomplishments of the two national organizations cannot be obtained. The situation is somewhat analogous to an attempt to assess the achievements of the two major political parties. The appraisal is almost certain to reveal a bias growing out of the appraiser's affiliations and beliefs. Moreover, the history of these two associations is not comparable. One of them was born nearly a century ago and the other has experienced a much briefer history, dating only from April 15, 1916. There is also a gap between the professed objectives and claimed achievements of any organization and the real purposes and ac-

accomplishments as revealed in the organization's everyday activities. The authors have examined the platforms and resolutions of both of the national associations, have read their journals and yearbooks, and have talked to many of their leaders and members. No attempt is made in the discussion which follows, however, to evaluate the past accomplishments or to fully assess the adequacy of the current programs of national teachers' associations. It is hoped that the analysis which follows will help to sharpen the picture of the two associations, the similarities and differences in organization and programs.

Perhaps it is wise to look first at certain differences in the philosophy and organization of the two associations. The American Federation of Teachers is affiliated with the AFL, whereas the NEA has no affiliations with any other organized group. The AFT apparently believes that teachers organized independently and standing alone cannot hope to compete with some of the highly organized and highly financed pressure groups in American society which often seek for selfish reasons to curtail education. The NEA, on the other hand, is opposed to organic affiliation of the profession with any part of the national life that entertains an exclusive economic, religious, or political point of view. Although the AFT is ostensibly an autonomous body within the AFL, and cannot be compelled to take action it does not wish to take, its program and policies are unquestionably influenced by the specialized economic viewpoint of the AFL. Even a cursory perusal of *The American Teacher*, the official journal of the AFT, will convince the reader of this generalization. A second distinguishing feature pertains to membership. Membership in the AFT is limited to classroom teachers.<sup>10</sup> Superintendents of schools are excluded. The NEA is open to all members of the profession regardless of position. This difference is an important one in the minds of members of both associations. One criticism of the NEA that has been voiced in some quarters is that it is dominated by administrators, and that classroom teachers play a minor role in the program. This is denied by NEA leaders. The latter point out that everyone in the profession, including administrators and teachers, has equal rights; that the interests of teachers and administrators are primarily the same, and that one over-all

<sup>10</sup> Under certain conditions administrators can form their own local AFT and thereby participate. But this rarely happens.

association, if wisely conceived and organized, can produce more effective results than can be achieved by teachers working alone. This difference in viewpoint regarding membership is reflected somewhat in the platforms and programs of the two associations. Administrators are always identified with "management" by the AFT, and their actions are frequently viewed with skepticism, if not suspicion.

The third point of difference is concerned with method of attaining objectives. The AFT believes in collective bargaining and, with the exception of its rejection of the strike as a weapon, it employs the tactics commonly used by labor unions. The Federation is more militant and is more aggressive politically than the NEA. Locals are encouraged to affiliate with state and local labor bodies in trying to secure the enactment of favorable laws and regulations.

Perhaps a fourth point of difference relates to the assessment of dues. The NEA has always set a flat sum, such as \$5, whereas the AFT has a graduated plan, under which the members' annual dues bear a relationship to the salary they receive.

There are also certain differences in the platform of the two associations which are related to the differences in philosophy and organization just discussed. To illustrate: the AFT frowns upon "teacher advisory committees set up by the superintendent whether the councils are appointed or elected."<sup>11</sup> Although it takes a firm stand on democratic school administration, the NEA has expressed no such opposition to advisory councils. The AFT favors the extension of Social Security to cover teachers over and beyond existing state pension and retirement provisions. The NEA has opposed such extension on the ground that social security benefits are lower than benefits provided by state pension and retirement plans. It believes there is great danger that, with social security, the states (or the public) will discontinue their financial support to existing retirement arrangements. The AFT supports a nonsegregation policy with respect to membership in locals. The NEA has thus far taken no stand on the race issue as it relates to membership, and has left the decision in the hands of local teacher groups. There are admittedly other differences, mostly ones of emphasis, however, between the programs of these two national organizations.

<sup>11</sup> See *The American Teacher* for October, 1950, p. 6 (American Federation of Teachers).

## PROGRAM SIMILARITIES

The differences in program can easily be exaggerated and partisan members in each organization are often led to stress what appears to them to be the weak points in the program and procedures of the competing association. Educational historians looking back over developments in this century will perhaps be more impressed with the similarities in the programs of these two professional organizations than with their differences.

Both of these associations have taken a firm stand in support of federal aid to education; both have worked assiduously for salary improvement and for the principle of the single salary schedule and equal pay; both have taken stands in support of international cooperation and development of better international relations; both have fought attacks on the schools; both have acted to defend teachers against unjust attacks and dismissals, and have taken a strong position on the maintenance of academic freedom; both have decried autocratic administration and have given support to the principle of teacher participation in policy formulation; both defend the right of teachers to organize and to support organizations of their own choice; both are committed to the principle of teacher tenure and sound retirement provisions; both have manifested great interest in the equalization of educational opportunities for children and have fought for appropriate tax machinery and for liberal support for public education; both have worked for the establishment of reasonable teaching loads; both regard high standards of teacher preparation as essential for rendering professional service; both favor extension of teacher and student exchange; and, finally, both are opposed to the use of rating schemes in relation to salary increments. The above are by no means the only common planks that can be found in their programs. It seems to the authors that the members of both the NEA and the AFT are pretty much of the same mind on the basic issues in their programs; that they are working toward the same goals.

The chief differences between the two national associations lie primarily in the methods employed in achieving their ends and in the philosophy underlying the role of the association. While admittedly these differences are significant, they are not as wide as some of the critics would have both teachers and the lay public believe.

ary, sick leave, state aid, tenure, and retirement arrangements. Others are of a more temporary character designed to meet current needs. In a few of the states, the research division is exceptionally strong and active; it investigates teacher welfare problems, gives consultative service to local units, answers letters of inquiry from teachers and laymen, prepares reports for association committees, supplies facts for publicity programs, and prepares the facts needed in the state legislative program.

Several associations (nearly one-third) provide some placement services; most associations have public relations programs, engage in legislative activity, and try to provide assistance to the field in one form or another. The latter ranges from maintaining an individual counseling service to providing speakers for lay groups. All the state associations publish a journal which serves the combined function of "house organ" and magazine.

### LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

The local education association is the foundation of state and national associations and, in some respects, is the most important of all the associations in the hierarchy. Local associations are on the firing lines; they come in daily contact with problems of concern to classroom teachers, and their relationship to the welfare of the individual teacher is more easily discerned and understood than that of associations whose headquarters are at a distance. With few exceptions, teachers in the same locality can establish personal contact with officers and committees and voice their opinions directly. Moreover, there are apt to be closer ties between members within a local association than is likely to exist among members when the area involved is statewide or national. All of these conditions are favorable for securing wide participation and interest. As one author has so aptly pointed out, "An organization that is alive includes these three elements in combination—communication, willingness to serve, and common purpose—and needs no others."<sup>12</sup>

The central working group in most local associations is the executive committee or board of directors. This group is likely to consist of the officers and either: (1) the chairman of major committees,

<sup>12</sup> Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939), p. 82.

(2) representatives selected from each building, (3) representatives chosen from each classification of school personnel (elementary school teachers, junior high teachers, senior high teachers, administrators, etc.), or (4) representatives from the whole membership. As is the case with state and national associations, a great deal of the work of the local association falls to committees, the typical association having seven committees of which (on the average) slightly over five are standing committees.<sup>14</sup>

The voting privileges of members vary somewhat with the size of associations. In associations with less than 100 members, it is customary to grant each member the right to one vote. As associations get larger they tend to vote by delegates, although associations limited strictly to classroom teachers, as contrasted with the all-inclusive association, adhere fairly consistently to the principle of granting each member a vote.

A customary procedure in developing policy is to hear committee reports at general meetings and then vote on recommendations. Some associations submit proposed actions, through building representatives, to separate faculties for discussion, and in many instances, mimeographed or printed reports of major committees are distributed to the membership for study and consideration.

The Research Division of the NEA, in its analysis of the work of local education associations, identified the following six purposes as those which local associations are seeking to serve:

1. Improving the professional services of members
2. Building *esprit de corps* of the teaching staff
3. Improving teaching conditions and economic status—efforts at the local level
4. Improving teaching conditions and economic status—efforts at state and national levels
5. Rendering community and civic services
6. Interpreting the association and the profession.<sup>15</sup>

The foregoing list of purposes will give the reader a pretty good clue to the activities of local associations. As can be imagined, they

<sup>14</sup> *Local Education Associations at Work*, Research Bulletin, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Washington: Research Division, National Education Association, October, 1948), pp. 110 and 120. The committees most frequently mentioned by local associations were in the following order: legislative, social, public relations, salary, program, teacher welfare, publicity, membership. P. 122.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

to the numbers represented and heavily weighted with a management point of view.

#### THE UNION SHOP PRINCIPLE

The question of restricted membership is not the only issue that has caused considerable debate among teachers; the question of compulsory membership has been raised because of its significance for improving the bargaining power of teachers. Divided as they now are, teachers' organizations are often in a relatively weak position in presenting their requests to school boards. This is especially observable in certain cities where about 50 per cent of the teachers belong to a local of the AFT and the other 50 per cent to an association affiliated with the NEA. Although this situation has given teachers some concern, they have not generally reacted favorably to the coercive feature implied in the union shop arrangement, and are inclined to the viewpoint that such a regulation constitutes interference with their freedom of choice.<sup>16</sup> Whatever the theoretical merits of the mandatory membership principle may be as it operates in labor-management relations, the basic factor of freedom will probably weigh heavily in the thinking of the typical classroom teacher.

#### PROFESSIONAL STATUS AND UNION METHODS

An argument sometimes advanced against teachers joining unions is that the latter are designed to serve the needs of nonprofessional workers and are not appropriate for teachers, who claim membership in a profession. This line of reasoning is open to considerable question in light of the experience of many other partly if not wholly professional groups. Writers, actors, technical engineers, airline pilots, nurses, radio performers, and many white collar governmental workers are either affiliated with labor or have their own independent unions. In a Gallup poll conducted in 1946, the public showed no overwhelming disposition to question the right of teachers to unionize. In fact, 44 per cent answered the query,

<sup>16</sup> Union shop for teachers implies that membership in an organization be made a condition of employment in a school system where the majority of the eligible teachers voluntarily belong. New teachers would have to join within a specified period of time or be discharged.

"Should teachers join unions?" in the affirmative.<sup>17</sup> Although this does not answer the question as to the type of organization teachers should join, it has been pointed out by some students of the problem that classroom teachers are less like most other professional groups than they are like industrial employees. Unlike physicians and lawyers, teachers are group employees. They do not establish independent offices nor do they hang out signs. Their hours of work and their salaries are more commensurate with those of workers in industry than with those found in the professions generally. For these reasons, the argument of unsuitability of union organization for teachers on the ground that they belong to a profession must be discounted.

In the judgment of the authors, most teachers in the past have shied away from unions for other reasons than a belief that this type of organization was designed to meet the needs of the non-professional worker. Classroom teachers as a group are relatively conservative in their social and political outlook, and they do not honestly subscribe to union tactics as they have observed them in operation in the industrial world. That teachers have humanitarian leanings and sympathy for the laboring classes is probably true. But they do not identify any more closely with this latter segment of American society than they do with the other half or two-thirds, who are not affiliated with labor. Teachers probably have as much in common with farm groups as with labor, although admittedly the latter have given more enthusiastic support to education in the past. Moreover, labor is split on many issues and is organized into two major groups in America, which presents a problem of affiliation. While only a small number of teachers are now affiliated with the CIO in comparison with the number affiliated with the AFL, there is no guarantee that this will be the case in the future.

The American public school teacher apparently believes that he can make his best contribution to the education of youth by remaining independent of all specialized groups; that, on projects related to the nation's welfare, the greatest good lies in cooperation with many organizations rather than affiliation with one.

The above discussions do not, of course, apply fully to the independent unions. There are a few teachers' associations that are

<sup>17</sup> American Institute of Public Opinion, *Do You Think Teachers Should Join Unions?* Princeton, New Jersey: Release of December 24, 1948

unionized but are not affiliated with labor. These unions have adopted the general pattern of the industrial union but have remained completely independent of other organizations. It seems clear that most, if not all, of these latter associations have arisen as a result of poor personnel policies and bad working conditions. Some boards of education have failed to provide an efficient working climate for members of the professional staff and have dealt autocratically with their employees. Where these conditions are present, teachers have been driven to use tactics which they would not have employed had sounder personnel policies been adopted. Unionization in some instances seems to have led to improvement in these situations.

The AFT has spearheaded a number of significant movements or trends during the past quarter century. They were among the earliest organizations to take up the battle against autocratic school administration and to pave the way for wide participation of teachers in the formulation of personnel policies. Today even the most conservative education association, although it may differ on specifics, accepts the basic philosophy laid down by the AFT regarding the role of teachers in policy formulation.

Throughout its history, the AFT has consistently stood for collective bargaining as the only practical means of improving the economic status of teachers. Other associations have refrained from using the term because they feared a negative public reaction to it. But any close observer of school administration during the last twenty-five years cannot fail to realize that teachers' associations have been moving steadily in the direction of collective action—perhaps negotiation is a more accurate term to apply to current practice than collective bargaining. Salary committees usually present their cases directly to school boards, as do other teacher welfare committees, whenever circumstances seem to call for joint appraisal of pertinent facts. This practice is a far cry from the old procedures where the board of education looked only to the superintendent of schools for counsel. Moreover, teachers' associations do not hesitate today to bring pressure to bear on boards of education when their proposals are under consideration.

An examination of some recently enacted grievance procedures will reveal much that the AFT has advocated for years.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See p. 277 of this volume

The foregoing are by no means the only areas in which the AFT has pioneered. American public school teachers have without question profited greatly by the courageous action of this national organization and from the splendid contributions which the leaders in the AFT have made to the profession.

This organization will probably continue to appeal to many of the liberal minds in the profession and will undoubtedly blaze new trails in the future as it has in the past. It seems questionable, however, if the majority of American public school teachers will join the AFT, first, because it is affiliated with labor, and second, because teachers, as mentioned earlier, are relatively conservative and will be reluctant to subscribe to what they understand as union tactics. Circumstances might conceivably arise which would modify the present reactions of teachers, but it seems more probable that an independent professional organization will have a stronger appeal for the vast majority of teachers.

School administrators in the past have been quite critical of teachers' unions and, in many instances, have considered them a thorn in the flesh.<sup>19</sup> In some situations there seems to be considerable justification for the criticisms launched against the union. Some of the leaders have spread discontent, made unreasonable demands upon the administration and the board of education, and given little evidence of professionalism. That there are a number of malcontents and troublemakers among the membership is generally conceded; the union undoubtedly offers them security and a ready-made opportunity to voice personal dissatisfactions.

Much of the success of the AFT locals, as is true of other teachers' associations, depends upon the leadership. In the last analysis the prestige and respect which teachers' organizations command hinges upon the character and quality of those who represent the association locally, at the state level, and nationally.

Some critics deplore the fact that there are two national associations that appear to be in competition for membership and prestige. But in a country which employs nearly a million public school teachers, and one where experimentation is encouraged, it would be

strange and probably most unfortunate if only one national association of teachers existed.

It should be pointed out that many teachers now belong to both organizations and some give generously of their time to the programs of each.

### SOME NEEDED REFORMS

Teachers' organizations are well established and are as much a part of the warp and woof of our society as the newspaper and television. But they are by no means as healthy as they need to be to fulfill their missions. In the first place, the majority of local education associations are relatively inactive and ineffective. Many of them are loosely organized, they meet only a few times a year, and their programs are limited chiefly to welfare problems. Unless life can be breathed into these associations, their contribution to the profession will not be great. To accomplish this, it will be necessary to develop programs that have a strong appeal to teacher interest. Moreover, some inspired leadership must be provided. The national organizations, as well as the state teachers' associations, are equipped to provide some of the needed leadership to struggling locals. The second weakness in local education associations is that they do not cooperate sufficiently with state and national teachers' organizations on matters of professional significance. In the study of local education associations made by the NEA Research Division in 1947, only one-fourth of the professional associations were sufficiently interested to participate. One wonders what proportion would join in an effort to collect factual data on matters less directly concerned with association affairs. In 1952-1953, of an estimated 35,450 professional employees in New York City, 930 or 2.6 per cent belonged to the National Education Association. The affiliation of teachers in Boston was almost equally disappointing—only 66 of the 3,570 Boston staff members, or 1.8 per cent, had membership in the NEA. In Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco, and Buffalo, fewer than 20 per cent of the professional staff were members of the NEA in 1953. Although teachers in many of these large cities enjoy a high degree of security, they have exhibited greater provincialism than teachers in less-populated districts. Not

only would their support have great significance for the profession generally in the United States, but, in the long run, membership in the NEA would prove to be an exceptionally good investment for the teachers employed in these large city school systems. The influence of a strong national association on legislation relating to welfare has been demonstrated frequently by other professional associations. The same general weakness obtains where local associations fail to support the state association in matters of statewide significance.

The development of cooperation among associations in a hierarchy is a slow process and requires leadership at all levels. Continuous support depends upon a vital program and sound techniques of communication. Until members of local teachers' associations can be made to see both the immediate and long-term values to be derived from devoting time, effort, and money to projects at the state and national levels, they will continue to confine their support largely to local undertakings.

In some school systems the rivalry between the AFT local and the association affiliated with the NEA is bitter, and the schism created because of this rivalry has seriously impaired the effectiveness of the teaching group as a whole in its relations with boards of education. Any policy of noncooperation is shortsighted, since it makes collective negotiation impossible.

Another obstacle to the way of developing strong professional associations of teachers is the fact that many teachers are not truly professional in their outlooks. Unfortunately, because of inadequate recruitment policies, poor selection procedures, and unsatisfactory working conditions, some school systems have in their employ a sizable number of teachers whose interests are narrow and selfish. It will require considerable patience and vision on the part of local leaders to lift the sights and ideals of this latter group to anything approaching a professional level.

Membership in a profession presupposes a long period of preparation and indoctrination. The ideals of a professional group are not easily or quickly inculcated. Original selection is also an important consideration.

Perhaps the greatest boon to teachers' associations lies in the establishment of programs more nearly in keeping with the needs of the profession and of society generally. The programs of many

teachers' associations are not well balanced; they are too heavily weighted on the side of teacher wellfare. Salaries, sick leave, and load assignment have long been three of the major areas of concern to teachers' associations. This situation is understandable but nonetheless unfortunate. Economic problems have often been so absorbing to classroom teachers that it has been difficult to arouse their interest in some of the larger aims of professional associations. Recruitment, for example, has been almost completely overlooked by local associations and has received but little attention by state and national associations. Yet it is obvious that the quality of the personnel entering teaching affects efficiency, which in turn has a relationship to prestige, salary, and the happiness of those already in the profession. The improvement of teacher efficiency or competency is usually one of the major objectives professed by associations, but relatively little emphasis has actually been given to it. In-service education programs are usually initiated by the administration, and frequently the chief role of the local association has been to protect teachers against mandatory arrangements, or to fight for salary recognition for participation in in-service growth programs. Although the latter may be an important service for an association to render, it is no substitute for inaugurating or sponsoring an enlightened program of its own.

The specific contributions of associations to curriculum improvement have been considerably less than might logically be expected, in view of the professed aims of teacher organizations. As a result, the public has not always been as sympathetic as it otherwise might have been to teacher requests for financial support.

Closely related to this shortcoming is the failure of teachers' organizations as a group to stand consistently for high professional standards. Teachers fight for tenure for all their members regardless of preparation. They have done little to raise certification levels, and in most instances they have placed no restrictions whatsoever on membership to their own organizations. The only membership qualifications seem to be (1) employment as a teacher and (2) willingness to pay the dues. Although the question of withholding membership from any certified teacher is perhaps a controversial one, there can certainly be no defense for tolerating low professional standards. Unless teachers themselves take action to improve the qualifications of those who enter as well as those who remain in

the profession, the status of teachers will continue to be lower than that enjoyed by members of other professions.

A strong teachers' association is also contingent to a considerable degree upon financial support. Annual dues have been entirely too low to support an adequate program. Research is an essential element in promoting the interests of state, national, and large city associations. To carry on a continuous research program necessitates the employment of personnel and calls for a substantial budgetary appropriation. Public relations activities involve travel, entertainment, printing, and other expenses, and if this phase of the program is neglected, the whole program of the association is likely to suffer.

Even though teachers are not able financially to pay professional dues comparable in size to those paid by physicians and lawyers, they could, if they came to see the significance, double or triple their current assessments. Most association leaders believe that present programs should be improved and that more financial support is needed to achieve the ends sought by the profession.

### CREDIT UNIONS

One of the major developments of the last quarter century relating to the economic welfare of teachers is the formation of credit unions. A credit union is a cooperative savings and loan association. Today more than 135,000 teachers belong to credit unions, which have assets of more than fifty million dollars. Teachers have profited greatly from the service rendered by these cooperatives through the low interest rates charged on loans and through the savings opportunities provided.

Because of the relatively low salaries paid to many teachers, the matter of establishing credit with banks or loan associations constitutes a serious problem. Often the collateral required is completely beyond the means of the individual teacher, and the interest rates are relatively high. As a result, many needed expenditures have to be postponed or foregone, and serious inconvenience is suffered. In some cases medical attention is not sought because of limited resources. The credit union makes it possible for teachers to meet emergencies that involve relatively heavy expenditures. Since experience with credit unions has established the fact that teacher mem-

bers generally are excellent risks, there have been few losses resulting from loans to teachers.

The National Education Association has had a standing committee on credit unions since 1940 (first created in 1937 as a special group) and has published and distributed many pamphlets bearing on the work of these cooperative savings and loan associations.<sup>29</sup> Judging by the rapid growth of teachers credit unions and the support given to them by both national and state education associations, this movement seems destined to expand until every classroom teacher has the opportunity to join and take advantage of the services provided by a credit union.

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## —15— PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

Throughout this volume teaching has been referred to as a profession. This conforms to the classification of occupations followed by the United States Bureau of the Census and is consistent with the definition found in Webster's dictionary.<sup>1</sup> A distinction needs to be made, however, between professions in general and learned professions. Teaching is not usually considered one of the learned professions.<sup>2</sup> Rather it has been classified along with twenty or more other occupations, none of which has enjoyed the respect and prestige of the three callings mentioned above. Moreover, even in relation to the approximately four and one half million workers who, according to the census, make up the professional group, apart from law, medicine, and theology, public school teaching has not always rated high in the public mind. This probably is due in part to ignorance regarding the complexity and importance of the teacher's work. But it can be accounted for to a considerable degree by the absence of certain characteristics.

There are three major factors that have come to be associated with a profession: (1) extended training before admission to practice, usually with practitioners having an important voice in the training program; (2) a strong organization that is recognized as being able to speak for the members as a whole and that emphasizes ideals of service above personal gain, and (3) a code of ethics or standards of conduct set up by practitioners and enforced by their representatives.

With regard to the first criterion, data are presented in Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup> Webster's *New International Dictionary of the English Language*, Second Edition, defines "profession" as "the occupation, if not purely commercial, mechanical, agricultural, or the like, to which one devotes oneself, a calling in which one professes to have acquired some special knowledge used by way either of instructing, guiding, or advising others or of serving them in some art."

<sup>2</sup> Law, medicine, and theology are almost universally recognized as being learned professions.

to indicate that the minimum training requirements for teachers fall far short of professional standards. Just where the line of demarcation lies is subject to individual interpretation, but surely four or five years above high school graduation is an exceedingly low preparation level to establish for a profession. Closely allied with the item of minimum preparation requirements is the extent to which institutions offering training are subject to evaluation and accreditation by representatives of the profession. Much needs to be done for teacher training in this area, as is pointed out in Chapter 2. The American Medical Association exerts great influence over medical education. The American Bar Association, a powerful force in its sphere, publishes annually a list of approved schools of law and also a list of schools offering legal training acceptable in many states but not approved by the association. It is to be hoped that the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education<sup>3</sup> will cull the good from the experiences of other professions and expedite progress in this area for teachers.

As was emphasized in Chapter 14, there is great need for strengthening our professional associations and for developing high ideals of service among the membership.

The third criterion, relating to the development and enforcement of a code of ethics, has been met only in part. Forward steps have been taken, but much still remains to be done if teaching is to take its place among the leading professions.

The Georgia Education Association adopted a code of ethics as early as 1896, but a quarter century later only eight state associations had followed the lead.<sup>4</sup> The turning point in the establishment of codes occurred during the late 1920's, stimulated by the National Education Association's establishment of a committee on ethics. In 1929 the committee adopted a code, which was revised in 1941 and again in 1952. By 1948 forty-six state education associations had adopted professional codes of ethics, twenty-five being identical to or very similar to the one developed by the National Education Association.<sup>5</sup> In the matter of enforcing such codes, however, edu-

<sup>3</sup> See page 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Ethics for Teachers*, Discussion Pamphlet No. 5 (Washington: Department of Classroom Teachers and Research Division, National Education Association, 1945), p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *1948 Report of the Professional Ethics Committee* (Washington: National Education Association, 1948), p. 13

cation has failed miserably, and as of 1954 there are very few indications that the situation will be substantially changed in the near future.

### ETHICS CODES IN GENERAL

Codes of ethics are essentially statements of principles governing conduct which is not covered by law. Their basis is found in concepts of right and wrong; primarily in the moral, rather than the legal, sense. Such standards can be derived either deductively, from assumptions about the ideals of desirable actions, or inductively, from concrete experiences. Two types of items may be found in ethical codes: (1) general principles of conduct, such as, "Deal justly and impartially with students regardless of their physical, mental, emotional, political, economic, social, racial, or religious characteristics";<sup>4</sup> and (2) rather specific rules, such as, "Accept no remuneration for tutoring except in accordance with approved policies of the governing board."<sup>5</sup> Some codes are composed almost entirely of generalities and others are primarily a collection of specifics, but most are composed of both. If only general statements are presented, little real guidance to the individual is provided. If only specifics are presented, many situations are not covered. The 1952 National Education Association Code offers a way of combining the two. Five broad principles are listed with examples of applications of each, ranging from generalities to specifics.

### RELATIONS OF CODES OF ETHICS TO LAW

Special statutes often pertain to those engaged in specific occupations. This is especially true in the professions, because of their great importance to the public welfare and the harm that would ensue if they were not regulated and the unqualified could prey upon unsuspecting citizens. Thus, lawyers and doctors are licensed by the state according to certain standards, and legal provisions are made to revoke licenses when this is warranted.

Supplementing this minimum type of legal control are profes-

<sup>4</sup> From the *Code of Ethics of the National Education Association*, adopted in 1952.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

sional codes of ethics which impose additional moral control. Violations of the law can result in punishments up to permanent disbarment from practice (in addition, of course, to possible sentences under criminal law), but violations of ethics are not punishable beyond expulsion from the professional association. However, in many instances, the latter action is virtually equivalent to the former, and in almost all situations it carries some distinct disadvantages. Most clients, for example, are not likely to engage the services of a man who is in disrepute with his colleagues. There is also the factor of possible influence on legal licensing authorities; for example, several states have gone so far as to adopt formally the canons of ethics of the American Bar Association as rules of court in disbarment proceedings. In any case professional codes of ethics, if properly administered, can wield tremendous influence on the conduct of those subject to them.

charge in the course of that illness, except with the consent of the physician who was in charge at the time of the consultation."

In the legal profession the canons of ethics are broken into forty-seven sections for lawyers and thirty-six for judges. Those for lawyers include the following prescriptions: "A lawyer assigned as counsel for an indigent prisoner ought not to ask to be excused for any trivial reason, and should always exert his best efforts in his behalf." "It is improper for a lawyer to assert in argument his personal belief in his client's innocence or in the justice of his cause." "All attempts to curry favor with juries by lawning, flattery or pretended solicitude for their personal comfort are unprofessional." "The lawyer must decline to conduct a civil cause or to make a defense when convinced that it is intended merely to harass or to injure the opposite party or to work oppression or wrong."

### PROVISIONS OF CODES FOR EDUCATORS

Virtually all state education associations have adopted codes of ethics. In some states, associations of administrators also have adopted codes especially applicable to their type of work. The variations among the codes are quite marked, despite the fact that the influence of the National Education Association code is apparent in most. Some state organizations have adopted this code with no amendments or only minor ones.

The National Education Association Code, as revised in 1952, consists of five "principles":

1. The primary obligation of the teaching profession is to guide children, youth, and adults in the pursuit of knowledge and skills, to prepare them in the way of democracy, and to help them to become happy, useful, self-supporting citizens. The ultimate strength of the nation lies in the social responsibility, economic competence, and moral strength of the individual American.

4. The members of the teaching profession have inescapable obligations with respect to employment. These obligations are nearly always shared employer-employee responsibilities based upon mutual respect and good faith.

5. The teaching profession is distinguished from many other occupations by the uniqueness and quality of the professional relationships among all teachers. Community support and respect are influenced by the standards of teachers and their attitudes toward teaching and other teachers.

Under each principle are listed from five to twelve things the teacher should do to fulfill the obligations imposed by the principle. Three for each principle follow:

1. Recognize the differences among students and seek to meet their individual needs; aid students to develop an understanding and appreciation not only of the opportunities and benefits of American democracy but also of their obligations to it; accept no remuneration for tutoring except in accordance with approved policies of the governing board.

2. Respect the basic responsibility of parents for their children; help to increase the student's confidence in his own home and avoid disparaging remarks which might undermine that confidence; provide parents with information that will serve the best interests of their children, and be discreet with information received from parents.

3. Adhere to any reasonable pattern of behavior accepted by the community for professional persons; discuss controversial issues from an objective point of view, thereby keeping his class free from partisan opinions; work to improve education in the community and to strengthen the community's moral, spiritual, and intellectual life.

4. Seek employment in a professional manner, avoiding such practices as the indiscriminate distribution of applications; refuse to accept a position when the vacancy has been created thru unprofessional activity or pending controversy over professional policy or the application of unjust personnel practices and procedures; accept no compensation from producers of instructional supplies when one's recommendations affect the local purchase or use of such teaching aids.

5. Deal with other members of the profession in the same manner as he himself wishes to be treated; speak constructively of other teachers, but report honestly to responsible persons in matters involving the welfare of students, the school system, and the profession; maintain active membership in professional organizations and, thru participation, strive to attain the objectives that justify such organized groups.

To help teachers understand the implications of the code, the association's ethics committee recently has begun to issue opinions through the medium of the *NEA Journal*, which goes to all association members.

Since one of the basic issues in the area of ethics concerns what sorts of items should be included in a code, some diverse provisions excerpted from codes of different state education associations are presented below:<sup>2</sup>

The personal life of the teacher should exhibit in large measure those traits which are lofty and suitable for example. The teacher should be an optimist.

Teachers should never indulge in remarks with pupils or before classes concerning the peculiarities or shortcomings of other pupils.

The teacher should execute fully his contract in spirit as in letter.

A superintendent or a principal should be ready, willing, and prompt at any time to answer official inquiries from prospective employers concerning the qualifications of any teacher under him and should be willing to write to any interested person, at the request of a teacher, giving a correct statement of the teacher's professional record.

*The primary consideration of the educator should be the present and future welfare of the pupils placed in his charge. He should seek to prepare pupils to be socially and economically efficient in the home, school, and community, and to be personally happy as members of society.*

Salaries should be commensurate with the social demands of the community.

Every teacher should have membership in his local, state, and national professional organizations and should participate actively and unselfishly in them.

Teachers retiring from positions should leave on file such records and reports for the guidance of successors as they themselves would like to receive.

In his relation to his co-workers, the teacher's attitude should be characterized by the spirit of cooperation.

Teachers should avoid gossip and petty criticism of each other.

curred. If so, the committee may recommend that the offender be expelled, suspended, or publicly or privately censured. Decisions, and the reasons behind them, are usually published in the same manner as decisions of courts of record, and over the years these collected opinions furnish guidance to practitioners in the profession. If offending lawyers are not members of the bar association, of course, effective professional discipline is somewhat hampered. Bar associations can, however, recommend to appropriate courts that any lawyer be disbarred, and the indirect influences of their codes in disciplining nonmembers should not be minimized.

In the medical profession extra-legal disciplinary action is initiated by the local medical society. If a disciplinary sanction is imposed against a member, that member may appeal to the state association. Further appeal may be taken to the Judicial Council of the American Medical Association, which usually functions as a sort of highest court in matters relating to ethics, although it may assume original jurisdiction under certain circumstances. Expulsion from the professional association is the maximum direct penalty, since licenses to practice medicine can be revoked only by official state bodies. However, the effect of professional disciplinary action, on both state medical boards and a physician's patients, is not insignificant.

The teaching profession has little or no machinery for self-discipline. Although a few state associations and the National Education Association make provision for disciplinary action against those who violate the code, suspensions or expulsions from educational associations are almost unheard of. There are a few signs, however, that some state associations are giving attention to this matter. Since an overwhelming majority of all teachers belong to state associations and since the state is the political unit responsible for education, it seems that this level is a good place to begin.

Following are examples of provisions for enforcement of ethics codes in effect in some associations:

**Delaware:** The Association's standing committee on professional ethics stands ready to receive reports of violations of this code by members of the Association. It hears the statements of all parties involved and submits to the board of directors proposals for suitable action by the Association wherever a deliberate violation seems to have taken place.

**Maine:** It shall be the duty of this Commission [on professional ethics] . . . to take appropriate action (appropriate action may take the form of a report to the State Commissioner

of Education) on such cases of violation of this code as may be referred to it.

Mississippi: A committee of three may be appointed by the president of the Mississippi Education Association to investigate charges or reports of violations of this Code of Ethics, as hereinbefore set forth, and to render to the president a decision sustaining the said charges or reports, or exonerating the teacher. This committee should be so appointed at the written request of any teacher against whom such report or charges have been made, or at the written request of any teacher desiring to charge another teacher with the violation of the Code of Ethics.

In a few instances state associations have encouraged or required affiliated local associations to set up committees for carrying out the codes of ethics. The Oklahoma Education Association recommends that district and county code committees be set up and that

. . . these various committees adopt specific rules and regulations to govern the presentation of charges of unethical conduct, formal hearing on same, introduction of evidence, the form of the final decision, provisions for appeal, and so forth. It is recommended that copies of all final decisions on cases involving unethical conduct be forwarded to the secretary of the state board of education. Where the decision or judgment finds a teacher guilty of unethical conduct, the committee may recommend to the state board that the certificate of the offending party be canceled.

The Connecticut Education Association's code contains an article which includes the following:

Each affiliated unit of CEA shall set up a Committee on Ethics or assign such responsibility to an appropriate existing committee. . . . The functions of the local Committee on Ethics shall be: (a) to promote acceptance of the loyalty to this Code of Ethics, (b) to serve as an advisory body in local complaints of alleged code violations, (c) to refer cases, when necessary, to the county member of the CEA Ethics Commission who will consult with the county director(s).

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sibility for this situation lies within the profession. A large number of teachers have been apathetic, and only a relatively small amount of leadership has been manifest in this area. Working conditions for many teachers have been so unsatisfactory, however, that obtaining a self-imposed code of conduct could not command much priority of effort. Another factor has been the lack of stability in the teaching profession compared with medicine and law. The relatively large numbers leaving teaching for other work or for marriage has been pointed out elsewhere as an object of great concern. Moreover, teachers move from one community to another to a much greater extent than do persons in the other two callings. The professional stability inherent in "building up a practice" for lawyers or medical doctors is largely lacking for teachers.

That teachers are public employees, dealt with largely on a group rather than an individual basis, has been another prime negative factor so far as effective codes of ethics are concerned. As public employees they are subject to all sorts of laws and rules of types not found pertaining to physicians and lawyers. Furthermore, history and tradition in regard to regulation are decidedly different for teaching than for the old professions. It is exceedingly difficult for an occupational group whose conduct has long been circumscribed from without to have elements of such external control replaced by internal sanctions. To occasion such a change, the public would have to see distinct advantages.

### CONSTRUCTING AN EFFECTIVE CODE OF ETHICS

Composing a code of ethics is a difficult task. It is a process which should not be hurried and which should involve as many as possible of those who will be affected by the code. A code should cover all essentials, but should not be so long as to be unwieldy. It should be general enough to provide guidance in all phases of professional conduct, but should be specific enough so that sincere and intelligent persons can be in substantial agreement as to its interpretation in concrete cases. It should not include minutiae, unless a few are used to illustrate broad principles or unless an important point does not seem to be treated adequately by a more general statement. Likewise there is little justification for including lists of vague virtues for a teacher to possess.

Basically a standard of conduct prescribed in a code of ethics for a profession should cover those features which distinguish the conduct of the member from that of the nonmember, either because the situation or relationship treated does not pertain to the nonmember or because acceptable conduct in the situation is different for the member than for the nonmember. Moreover, codes of ethics are not the proper media for expressing rights. Statements relating to treatment of teachers by boards of education, for example, seem to be beyond the proper scope of a code of ethics for teachers. An obvious point, but one sometimes overlooked, is that there should be substantial agreement that the element of conduct is desirable before an item is placed in the code. Codes of ethics need protection from the will of the reformer whose views may not represent those of the great majority affected by the code. This does not mean that the prevailing way of operation should be embraced as the ethical one; it means that most members ought to believe a certain practice desirable before it is formally incorporated in the code. It must be remembered that from the point of view of an occupational group, a statement of ethical concepts should serve as a cohesive force, not as a divisive one.

If a code is to be more than a temporary declaration, it should be accompanied by a definite procedure for revision. The process should be a continuing one involving the same principles applicable in the original construction of the code. Provision should be made to publicize the code within the profession and to the lay public. Educators need to be thoroughly familiar with their codes (a situation not generally true now). Giving attention to ethics at meetings and through use of the official journal of the association is mandatory for success. A special committee responsible for continuously assessing and interpreting the code in terms of specifics is another essential. Those entering the calling should be made familiar with ethical concepts through training institutions and teacher organizations. Actions in this field should also be publicized widely outside of professional circles, so that lay citizens will know that educators are supplementing legal sanctions to put into effect ideals of service far beyond the demands of the law.

cotyped as ivory-tower personalities who talk and write rather than act. In the area of ethics this has been largely true. The modernization of the National Education Association Code in 1952 could, if teachers were so inclined, be taken as a starting point for launching a drive to take ethics for educators out of the realm of print and lip-service and into that of action and enforcement.

### RELATED READINGS

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## —16— LEGAL STATUS OF STAFF PERSONNEL

The entire educational enterprise operates within a framework of law, and the rights, privileges, duties, and immunities of staff personnel are to a large extent determined by legislation. Attention has been drawn in preceding chapters to legal implications of various personnel policies, and the role of law has been pointed out in connection with such items as certification, salaries, collective bargaining, leaves, tenure, academic freedom, and retirement. This chapter is intended to complete an overview of the legal status of staff personnel by focusing on aspects not treated previously.

### GENERAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK

#### THE STATE

Since education is regarded as a state function,<sup>1</sup> most laws pertaining to teachers are found on that level. Such laws, of course, cannot contravene the United States Constitution or the constitution of the state. Beyond these restrictions the power of the state legislature to regulate schools and teachers is supreme. On the state level, elements of power over education usually are delegated by the legislature to the state board of education, the chief state school officer, and the state department of education. Regulations of such

agencies comprise the rung below statutes in the legal ladder embracing education. The preceding chapters have pointed out the marked variations among the states in prescriptions pertaining to staff personnel in the public schools.

In relating state control to a specific item of personnel policy, one of four situations may prevail. First, the policy may be mandated; for example, participation in the state retirement system for teachers in all districts may be made compulsory. Second, a specific policy may be prohibited; for example, contracts for more than three years may be forbidden. Third, there may be legislation definitely permitting local districts to adopt a policy if they so desire; for example, local provisions for paid sick leave may be specifically legalized by the state. Fourth, state statutes and regulations may be silent on a matter; for example, there may be no mention made of teacher salaries.

#### THE LOCAL BOARD OF EDUCATION

In practice public school staff personnel are affected most by policies of local boards of education,<sup>2</sup> whose rules have the effect of law in educational matters. Although school board rules must be consistent with regulations and laws of agencies higher in the legal hierarchy, they deal typically with myriad matters not mentioned or mentioned only in general terms elsewhere. A high degree of control of education by local boards has been legislated; traditions have extended and accentuated the pattern of decentralization. Although local school boards theoretically may exercise only those powers specifically granted them plus implied powers to carry out their functions, actually through the years they have broadly interpreted their implied powers. In relatively few instances have they been challenged, and where they have been, the courts have tended to support the boards rather than to decide the powers in question were not theirs.

Unimaginative and timid boards are content simply to obey the state laws requiring certain things to be done and others not to be done and perhaps to do a few things that are explicitly permitted.

<sup>2</sup> Legally, local boards are state rather than local agents. They are set up by the state to carry out the state function of education in the local district. They are distinct from municipal governments.

Forward-looking and creative boards, however, pioneer beyond the written law. The latter envision new areas of operation to improve the schools and experiment with methods of meeting developing situations. Progress in American public school education can be attributed largely to the existence of such boards, for extra-legal (not illegal) actions have presaged the enactment of laws in most aspects of the education undertaking.

#### THE COURTS

In analyzing the legal status of the public school teacher, it is necessary to consider court rulings along with statutes. The interpretations given by judicial bodies to constitutional and statutory provisions make up a vital part of school law. Also, the courts bring to bear on educational issues precepts of common law not covered by legislation. In recent years there has been an increase in the number of court cases involving educational issues. Whether or not one regards the trend as salutary, it must be recognized as a fact having many implications for the future of public education. The courts influence educational policy and practice considerably when they construe constitutional provisions and statutes. Even seemingly specific laws frequently require interpretation. For example, under tenure laws listing incompetency as a cause for discharge, a considerable amount of litigation is concerned with whether certain facts substantiate alleged incompetency of a teacher. Furthermore, the "reasonableness" of any board rule is subject to judicial determination.

unreasonable. Rarely will a court consider the wisdom of a board action and substitute its judgment for that of a duly constituted board. Although a policy may be a poor one from an educational point of view or unwise from a social point of view, if the matter is within the discretionary power of the school board and the regulation is not unreasonable, it is legally permissible. The redress in such a circumstance lies not in the courts but in persuading the board to revise its stand, in obtaining new board members, or in having state legislation enacted to take away the discretion of local boards regarding the controversial point.<sup>3</sup>

A personnel issue that illustrates the preceding discussion is that of employing married women as teachers. Since there is no evidence that such teachers are inferior to single women from an educational perspective there is no basis for discriminating against them. From a social viewpoint also it is difficult to sustain a policy aimed at disqualifying married women from membership in the teaching profession. The argument that single women should be given preference because they do not have husbands who can support them is a poor criterion when selecting personnel for so important a task as educating children. Yet, although the number has been decreasing steadily, there still are many boards of education that will not hire married women teachers. Courts in several states have refused to invalidate rules to this effect, holding their establishment to be a reasonable use of discretionary power legally belonging to school boards in hiring personnel. In hundreds of school districts boards of education have been persuaded to abandon such policies, and in several states statutes have been enacted specifically forbidding discrimination because of marital status and thus removing the point from the province of local boards.

### CONTROL OF PUPILS

In order to carry out their functions staff personnel must be vested with authority to control the students. The prime focus here involves permissible disciplinary measures. Authority to inflict

<sup>3</sup> This pattern of operation, although occasionally frustrating to those who are opposed to certain school board decisions, is essential to democratic process in the control of education. If the courts were to review the decisions of school boards on grounds other than legality, the result would be control of education by judges rather than by citizens selected specifically for this purpose.

punishment is based on the concept that the teacher stands in the place of the parent (*in loco parentis*) while the pupil is under his jurisdiction. Legally, the crux of the matter is the reasonableness of the penalty. The offense must be considered. Did the conduct of the pupil warrant the punishment? The frame of mind of the teacher at the time is another factor. Was the punishment inflicted in a malicious or vindictive manner? Regardless of the behavior of the student, the penalty cannot be excessive. Was the punishment too severe in terms of the age, the maturity, and the sex of the pupil? The legality of a punishment is predicated on answers to such questions as the preceding.

Corporal punishment, while frowned upon by psychologists, is not beyond the power of teachers unless it is expressly prohibited by state law or local regulation. At mid-century only one state, New Jersey, had legislation proscribing corporal punishment, although it was forbidden in many localities by school board ruling. Administering an excessive degree of corporal punishment, however, could in many jurisdictions result in criminal and civil actions against a teacher on charges of assault and battery.

Although cruel and unusual punishments cannot be meted out, wide discretion is present regarding the forms of permissible penalties, so long as the test of reasonableness is met. The determination of whether an action is reasonable or not ultimately lies with the courts. Detention after regular school hours and withdrawal of privileges such as participation in certain school activities are not unacceptable in and of themselves. Suspensions and expulsions also are valid punishments.

derogatory statements because of the possibility of unduly influencing the life of the person affected. *To the extent that the reluctance is based on fear of legal action, however, it is unnecessary and deplorable.* The need for honest evaluation of students is implicit in the teacher's role, and so long as the proprieties discussed above are observed there need be no fear of legal complications.

### INJURIES TO PUPILS

On the average one out of every five children who attend school from kindergarten through twelfth grade will meet with an accident that is associated with school activities and that requires the attention of a doctor or causes absence from school.<sup>5</sup> Roughly a third are in connection with organized athletics, and about one in seven occurs in connection with classes other than those in physical education. Not counting those injuries in organized activities, approximately a quarter happen on school premises outside of buildings.<sup>6</sup>

#### NEGLECT

Some of these accidents probably could not have been avoided by any direct acts of teachers. Many of them, however, probably could have and should have been prevented. In the latter cases the question of negligence arises. Teachers generally are as subject to legal action for negligence as are citizens at large. Furthermore, their relations with children make them more likely to be concerned with accidents than most persons. The teacher's legal responsibility for pupil injuries depends on whether or not negligence is involved. In almost all jurisdictions, he would be personally liable for the payment of damages arising out of an injury caused by his negligence.<sup>7</sup>

could be expected of a reasonably prudent person under the circumstances. It may involve omissions as well as commissions. Another consideration in cases of alleged negligence is anticipation of consequences. If a reasonably careful teacher could foresee possible harmful outcomes and did not act to prevent them, he would be negligent. Although negligence exists only when one has a duty in respect to the damaged party, duty here is broadly construed; that is, a teacher has a duty to exercise care with his students. The degree of caution required to avoid negligence depends upon the amount of danger which might be anticipated and upon the maturity of the student.

It becomes apparent that whether or not negligence exists is a question of judgment for the courts. The standard actually is a relative one, with a judge or jury weighing the actions of the defendant against the conduct to be expected of a prudent person as they conceptualize him. There are, of course, precedents, but courts are not bound by them, and frequently a case does not fit neatly into a slot previously adjudicated.

The careful teacher is not in as precarious a situation, however, as the foregoing may imply. Relatively few cases involving alleged negligence are taken to the courts. Empirically it appears that most of those are decided in favor of the teacher. There are defenses open to the teacher in addition to the one that reasonable care was taken. If the student did not conduct himself as he might be expected to for his protection, the contributory negligence on his part may free the teacher from liability. Moreover, for a teacher to be guilty of negligence the cause of the injury must be traceable directly to him with no subsequent independent causes breaking the sequence between the teacher's act or failure to act and the infliction of the injury. Where there is an intervening act which breaks the chain of events, the teacher's conduct is not the legal (proximate) cause. Nor can liability ensue for injuries resulting from normal risks of an activity voluntarily engaged in; for instance, it is recognized that there are risks inherent in playing football. The latter doctrine of assumption of risk does not free teachers from preventing students from doing potentially harmful things on a voluntary basis. An injured football player for example, should not be permitted to re-enter the game regardless of his personal desire.

Even though a detailed treatment of the many legal ramifications and judicial interpretations of teacher negligence in pupil injury cases in the various states is beyond the scope of this volume, it is pertinent to call attention to some danger spots involving staff personnel.<sup>2</sup>

#### USE OF EQUIPMENT

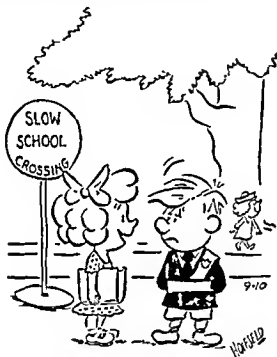
Liability for negligence has been established relative to use of equipment in various kinds of school shops, gymnasiums, playgrounds, and science laboratories. When pupils make use of equipment which may be intrinsically dangerous, such as power saws in a shop class, or which may be used in such a way as to constitute a hazard, such as parallel bars in a gymnasium, extreme caution is necessary.

Analysis of court cases reveals at least four points of principle. First, the teacher must be certain that the equipment is not faulty. Periodic inspections should be made to assure proper functioning. Second, the teacher must not permit anyone to use the equipment until that party has been instructed carefully in its proper use and warned of the dangers inherent in misuse. Third, the teacher must supervise the activities wherein the equipment is utilized. Fourth, the teacher must be certain that precautions are taken to prevent unauthorized use of dangerous equipment.

#### SUPERVISION

The pivotal point in many cases of alleged negligence on the part of teachers is supervision. At least four elements must be considered here. One is that supervision must be provided to cover all aspects of the program of a child during the school day. This would include unorganized recess activities as well as instructional ones. Another is that the supervision should be adequate in terms of the activity and the maturity of the child. A teacher must not be responsible for too large a number of young children during recess

an opportunity is afforded by the safety patrol. Legally, however, putting any but the best on patrol duty is very unwise and, if a child were injured due to the failure of a patrol member who was not generally recognized as thoroughly reliable, it might well constitute negligence on the part of the teacher.



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"Now, you wouldn't report poor little me for not seeing your signal, would you, handsome?"

Some states have special laws rendering school personnel immune from liability resulting from accidents either to patrol members themselves or to others through the action of patrol members. Without such protection, some authorities go so far as to counsel the abolition of patrols, holding that the educational value, particularly since only reliable pupils should be selected, does not warrant the legal risks. Hamilton suggests that it is not reasonably prudent

for a child to be charged with the responsibility of conducting other children across streets, and that negligence may be implicit in school patrol operation.\*

It should be noted that, as of 1953, no cases involving accidents related to school patrol operation had reached courts of record. Thus there are no judicial opinions on the matter, although several state attorneys-general have issued opinions.

#### ERRANDS

A word should be said about sending children on errands while they are under the jurisdiction of the school. This is an exceedingly dangerous practice, and the teacher may be held liable for negligence if the child should meet with an accident. It would be difficult to justify errand-running off the school premises as a legitimate part of the school program. Even where a school matter is concerned, such use of pupils would be highly questionable legally.

#### FIRST AID

In case a student is injured, what should a teacher do? The weight of legal opinion as well as of moral sanction is that he should render emergency treatment. This first aid should be the minimum necessary under the circumstances until trained medical assistance can arrive. To do less would be negligent; to do more might create a liability. Staff personnel are not licensed medical personnel. They should, therefore, not make diagnoses or render services except in emergency. Good intentions do not constitute an adequate defense when medication administered aggravates rather than improves the infirmity.

### SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS PERTAINING TO ADMINISTRATORS

Personnel in supervisory or administrative positions operate with legal obligations, privileges, and restraints similar to those set forth earlier in the chapter applicable to teachers. The differing nature

\* R. R. Hamilton, "Some Legal Aspects of School Patrol Operation," *The Bi-Weekly School Law Letter*, Vol. 3, No. 1, March 5, 1953, pp. 1-4.

of the parties to the contract, (3) statement of the legal capacity of the parties represented, (4) provision for signatures by the authorized agents of the board of education and by the teacher, (5) clear stipulation of salary to be paid, (6) designation of date of contract, duration, and the date when service is to begin, and (7) definition of assignment. School systems located in states which do not have mandated or recommended contract forms might well study their agreements with teachers in light of the foregoing considerations.

#### CONTRACT IN WRITING

Written contracts are used in most school systems, in fact, less than 10 per cent of city school systems rely upon oral agreements with teachers. The question of the legality of an oral contract between a board of education and a teacher has not been thoroughly threshed out in the courts. A teacher who, in the spring, enters into an oral contract which is to be terminated fourteen or fifteen months later may be on very unsafe ground because of the probable applicability of the Statute of Frauds, one subsection of which requires that any agreement not to be performed within the space of one year from the making thereof must be in writing. Even in the case of teachers on tenure, written contracts are preferable by far to oral ones.

In light of the nature of the services to be performed and their importance to the welfare of all parties concerned, it is wise to have the agreement written out in some detail. This will eliminate doubt as to whether a bona fide offer was made and accepted. It will also tend to reduce misunderstandings to a minimum and, in case of disagreement, will provide the courts with basic information needed to render a just verdict.

of the administrative unit, by district name or number, and the state in which it is located.

#### LEGAL CAPACITY OF PARTIES

A contract is not valid if either of the parties does not possess the legal capacity to enter into it. To be able to enforce a contract, a teacher must fulfill all legal requirements. A teacher who does not possess a valid certificate, for example, cannot bring legal action against a board of education for failure to comply with the terms of a contract. Hence, it is important to provide in the contract for a statement designating the particular certificate to be held by the teacher.

As for the school board, the only reference to legal capacity may be naming the board and giving its identification by district number and/or county. If there are special legal requirements, such as approval of the contract by the county superintendent, these must be observed by the board. Also, it should be noted that the power to employ lies with the board of education as a body. Therefore, neither the superintendent nor an individual board member has the legal capacity to enter into an employment contract with a teacher.

#### SIGNATURE OF PARTIES

While it may appear obvious that a contract should be signed by both parties, there is a question as to who should sign for the board of education and whether an official seal or attestation is required.

Most states have abandoned the requirement of an official seal on contracts, and it seems quite unnecessary to insist on this formality. It is important, however, that the proper agent or agents of the board of education sign the contract and that the form used specifically provide for this. If the state law requires the additional signature of some other officer, such as the county or district superintendent, space should be provided for the latter. The signature of the teacher is of course essential.

#### STATEMENT OF SALARY

Controversy often arises in relation to salary. While the amount of compensation commonly is stated in contracts, the wording may

not include specific provisions regarding deductions for absence or for the retirement fund. Also it is important that the method of payment be stipulated, such as monthly for the school year, monthly for the calendar year, or by "scheduled" installments.

Occasionally one finds in contracts a clause to the effect that salary is payable provided all current records are accurately and correctly kept and all required reports are made and approved. While no one can question the fairness of such a requirement, it seems unnecessary since the board of education has the right to abrogate a contract if a teacher has failed to render satisfactory service. Since teaching is a profession where high ethical standards presumably obtain, such contract provisions seem somewhat superfluous.

The question as to whether the teacher's salary should be expressed in a contract as a total annual figure or as a monthly sum for a specific number of months is also a matter that boards of education and teachers need to consider. An issue pertaining here concerns the legal distinction between a divisible and an indivisible contract. If a teacher's contract is interpreted as divisible, then each month's service can be viewed as an exchange for each month's salary, and in case of illegal dismissal during the school year, the teacher could collect salary only for the actual time served before dismissal. If, on the other hand, the contract is so worded that the salary is clearly indivisible, the teacher could claim the unpaid balance for the entire period of the contract in the event of unjustified dismissal. There are examples of teachers' contracts being interpreted each way by courts.

Lawyers are not in agreement as to the best way to phrase the salary payment item in a contract, but one authority suggests the following as being most likely to be interpreted as indivisible: "\_\_\_\_\_ salary for the term covered by this contract, to be paid in \_\_\_\_\_ equal installments on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of each calendar month during the contract period."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Teachers' Contracts—Principles and Practices* (Washington: Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom, National Education Association, 1945), p. 33.

### DURATION OF CONTRACT

In regard to duration of contracts, two considerations are germane: length of the school year contracted for and number of years for which the contract is valid. In regard to the first point, many teacher contracts are not definite. Such phrases as "for the ensuing term" often leave teachers in doubt as to just how many days of service are required. It is important to specify when the school year begins and ends. The number of days required may also be mentioned if this is not made clear in the statutes of the state.

Where teachers are given tenure status, the terms of the contract with respect to duration will be different from those for non-tenure teachers. A statement to the effect that the contract will remain in force from year to year unless terminated by the tenure procedure is appropriate.<sup>12</sup>

### ASSIGNMENT

As was mentioned earlier, contracts are generally quite indefinite both as to place of assignment and the specific duties to be performed by teachers. Some discretion must be left in the hands of the administration and board with regard to assignment; otherwise the best interests of the school system are likely not to be served. It is unfair, however, to give unrestricted assignment powers to employers. In most situations, the grade or subjects to be taught can be specified; certainly the area of responsibility can be delimited in the contract at least to a division of the school system such as the primary grades, the intermediate grades, or the high school. In many systems it may be feasible to name the particular school.

There are many responsibilities imposed by employing boards which are not covered specifically by the terms of a contract. They involve "extra-curricular" activities, curriculum revision assignments, and special committee work. One contract which came to the attention of the authors specifies that the teacher agrees "to accept such classes, sponsorships, and activity responsibilities as the principal may assign." Such a provision places the teacher in a wholly unfavorable position and should be avoided. A statement to the

<sup>12</sup> See Chapter 8.

effect that the contract is subject to the laws of the state and the rules and regulations of the local board is in order. It is recommended that teachers be made aware of board policies before signing contracts. One of the distinct advantages of having in published form the rules and regulations of the board of education is to make clear to prospective teachers what the school system expects of its employees.

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## CONCLUSION

The profession of education in the United States is in a state of transition. It is neither in its infancy, nor has it yet arrived at full maturity. But that it has made significant progress during the twentieth century few would deny. Teachers today have outstandingly better preparation. (State certification requirements have been advancing by one full year of additional training each decade.) Teaching is now a full-time job, and more and more often it is a chosen career rather than a stepping-stone or a pot-boiler. Salary schedules have replaced individual bargaining. Tenure affords job security to most experienced teachers. Retirement plans—still inadequate, to be sure—are universal. Safeguards now promote fair employment practices and foster academic freedom. Teachers' associations have grown in influence and have established ethical standards for the profession.

In spite of these noteworthy achievements, however, problems of great magnitude still confront the profession. Of these, the truly gigantic one which overshadows all the others, is recruitment. Valuable though training is, it can do no more than process the human material submitted to it. Therefore, the quality of this raw material is of the utmost importance. Yet teacher-training institutions currently are not receiving anywhere near a fair proportion of the most talented and personable high school students. Confronted with a serious shortage of classroom teachers, particularly at the elementary school level, school systems throughout the 48 states are being forced to appoint many poorly qualified persons to fill the growing number of teaching vacancies. If this trend persists, the prospects for raising professional standards to a truly respectable level are dim indeed, and the likelihood of teachers achieving greater prestige and a bettered economic status is even less.

A major obstacle to successful recruitment—one that cannot be easily overcome—is cost. Because teachers' salaries are still pitifully

low, large numbers of our most talented young people will continue to prefer other professions. Raising salaries to meet the competition of other occupations implies substantial increases in taxation—and the public is already overly tax-sensitive. But what many taxpayers fail to see is the economic and social returns that could result from the efforts of a gifted teaching group. A far more effective program of public relations is urgently needed to create a widespread comprehension on the part of the public of the difference between good and bad education, and an awareness of what education can and should do for the youth of the nation.

Unfortunately, only herculean efforts can remedy this situation. State legislatures, local and state boards of education, parents, school administrators, and teachers all will need to rally their forces and develop a unified program aimed at the early recruitment of gifted young people. Otherwise future generations will not witness any further rise in the public school teaching profession in America.

A second problem, or group of problems, is the discovery and application of the best possible ways and means of developing and maintaining at a high level all the potentialities of the human material that enters the profession—in other words, principles and techniques of personnel management.

Assuming that the profession and the lay public respond to the challenging problem of recruitment, then personnel management will take on added significance. Wise salary policies, recognition of professional achievement, democratic school administration, reasonable teaching loads, rich in-service educational opportunities, adequate tenure and retirement provisions, and an atmosphere that ensures a high degree of teaching freedom and experimentation—these factors in conjunction with a staff of gifted teachers and principals are the basic essentials of a superior school system.

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